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MILTON

AREOPAGITICA

JOHN W. HALES

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M I L T O N

AREOPAGITICA

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. THE YEAR (1644).

OF the circumstances under which the *Areopagitica* was written, Milton has himself given an account in his *Second Defence of the People of England* (*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano contra infamem libellum anonymum cui titulus Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*). In that work, to refute fully the calumnies heaped on his name by his enemy, he gives a rapid sketch of his past life. After speaking of his earlier days, he mentions his travels abroad, and then how, coming home, he was drawn into the great struggle that he found prevailing, or beginning to prevail.

‘ Then pursuing my former route through France I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months, at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the episcopal war with the Scots, in which the Royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able I hired a spacious house in the city, for myself and my books ; where I again, with rapture, resumed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. The vigour of the Parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to control, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other Reformed Churches ; that the government of the Church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty ; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition ; that the principles of religion, which were the first

objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic. And as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that, if ever I wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the Church, and to so many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger. I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the Reformation of the Church of England. Afterwards when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed 'Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy,' and the other 'Concerning the Mode of Ecclesiastical Government'; and I replied to the other in some animadversions, and soon after in an apology. On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents, and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared. When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends, not so much on the terror of the sword as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As they seemed to involve three material questions—the conditions of the conjugal tie, the education of children, and the free publications of the thoughts—I made them objects of distinct consideration. I explained my sentiments, not only concerning the solemnization of matrimony, but the dissolution, if circumstances rendered it necessary, and I drew my arguments from the divine law, which Christ did not abolish, or publish another more grievous than that of Moses. I stated my own opinions, and those of others, concerning the exclusive exception of fornication, which our illustrious Selden has since,

in his "Hebrew Wife," more copiously discussed ; for he, in vain, makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate, or in the forum, who languishes under the vilest servitude to an inferior at home. On this subject, therefore, I published some books, which were more particularly necessary at that time, when man and wife were often the most inveterate foes ; when the man often staid to take care of his children at home, while the mother of the family was seen in the camp of the enemy, threatening death and destruction to her husband. I then discussed the principles of education in a summary manner, but sufficiently copious for those who attend seriously to the subject, than which nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown. Lastly, I wrote my "Areopagitica" after the true Attic style, in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered ; that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition. On the last species of civil liberty I said nothing, because I saw that sufficient attention was paid to it by the magistrates ; nor did I write anything on the prerogative of the Crown till the King, voted an enemy by the parliament, and vanquished in the field, was summoned before the tribunal which condemned him to lose his head¹.

Such is the account Milton himself gives of his writings just before the outbreak of the Civil War and during the continuance of it. The order of them is not indeed minutely accurate ; for the 'some books' on the subject of divorce were not all published before he proceeded to the questions of Education and Unlicensed Printing ; but it probably represents precisely enough the succession in which the various subjects discussed engaged his attention. The year of his life that especially concerns us here is 1644. It was in the November of that year that the *Areopagitica* was published. Besides this masterpiece, there appeared also these other works :—In February, a second edition of his first Divorce treatise (The Doctrine and

¹ See Milton's Prose Works, the one-volume edition, pp. 934, 935. For the original Latin, see *ibid.* pp. 719, 720.

Discipline of Divorce restored to the good of both sexes from the bondage of Canon Law and other Mistakes to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared, wherein also are set down the bad consequences of abolishing or condemning as sin that which the law of God allows and Christ abolished not); in June, his tractate Of Education to Master Samuel Hartlib ; in July, his Second Divorce Book (The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, written to Edward the Sixth in his second book of the Kingdom of Christ, and now Englished ; wherein a late book restoring the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce is here confirmed and justified by the authority of Martin Bucer). So that the year 1644 was one of memorable activity in Milton's life.

This activity, it will have been noticed, was all in the direction of certain social and other reforms. It was all, as Milton himself puts it, in behalf of 'liberty'—of the 'domestic species' of 'liberty.' 'Liberty's defence' was always his 'noble task'; and there was never a time in his career when he strove with more fervent hope, or more brilliant skill, to secure for his age the freedom without which, as it seemed to him, life was cramped and starved, and the world a mere prison. In the interest of this great cause he had abandoned for a while those high studies to which his previous years had been devoted. Of his poetical writings only a few sonnets belong to this period of his life. 'God, by His secretary Conscience,' enjoined a far different 'service,' and 'it were sad for me if I should draw back.'

This particular year formed a crisis in Milton's life. It witnessed the culmination of his hopefulness. There is especially noticeable in the *Areopagitica* a certain sanguineness and anticipation, which subsequent events were bitterly to reprove. In fact Milton was yet but faintly conscious of the immense discrepancies between his age and himself. To him, when the Long Parliament met in the autumn of 1640, it had seemed that a new day was dawning for England and for mankind.

'The world's great age begins anew,
The golden years return.'

And he had hailed with a profound exultation the opening acts

of that great assembly. When the Star Chamber and its kindred iniquities were suppressed, it seemed once more possible to breathe, and hopes sprang up in him of a new and perfecter reformation. This confidence appeared justified by the fall of the bishops, who had identified themselves with what was held to be the cause of tyrannny. Surely there was now at hand a splendid regeneration. As one thinks of Milton in those hours of elation, there rises before the mind the image of another poet, whose experience was strangely similar. Wordsworth, on the tiptoe of expectation at the beginning of the French Revolution, reminds one sadly of Milton just a century and a half before.

‘ Oh ! pleasant exercise of hope and joy,
 For mighty were the auxiliars which then stood
 Upon our side, we who were strong in love !
 Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
 But to be young was very heaven ! Oh ! times
 In which the meagre, stale, forbidden ways
 Of custom, law, and statute took at once
 The attraction of a country in romance !
 When Reason seemed the most to assert her rights,
 When most intent on making of herself
 A prime Enchantress—to assist the work
 Which then was going forward in her name.’

The *Areopagitica* reflects Milton still sanguine and confident. It is true that, as we shall see, the work in fact originated from what might well have taught the writer that his dreams of a complete emancipation were not to be realised ; but Milton could not recognise this conclusion, so ‘ lame and impotent.’ He could not yet bring himself to believe that the dawn, whose rising he had greeted with such joy, was presently to be overcast—that the sun was not to rise higher, but to be stayed in its bright course, as by some malignant Joshua, and presently blurred and obscured with mist and fog. As we see him in this Speech to the Parliament of England he is filled with pride and with hope. No nobler panegyric has been pronounced on our country than that he here pronounces with his richest eloquence :—

‘ Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are the governors : a Nation not slow and dull, but

of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning, in her deepest sciences, have bin so ancient and so eminent among us that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civil Roman Julius Agricola, who govern'd once here for Cæsar, preferr'd the naturall wits of Britain before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is for nothing that the grave and frugal Transilvanian sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wildernes, not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heav'n, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europ? Behold now this vast city; a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompast and surrounded with his protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers making, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice, in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious camps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile, but wise and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing people—a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies?

It must be remembered that in this year, 1644, the Parliamentary cause had achieved triumphs that left little room for doubt as to what would be the issue of the war. The Scots had entered England in January. In the summer the Earl of Essex had advanced westward into Cornwall. July had brought the utter defeat of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor. A gleam of light was, it is true, thrown on the Royal banner by the rising of Montrose, in the autumn; and in England the King's side had not been without its successes, of which the most important was

the dispersion of Essex's army in September ; but, on the whole, the Parliament had gained strength and confidence, and the fortune of their opponents was becoming highly dubious, if not quite desperate. In the very November in which the *Areopagitica* was published the 'New Model' of the army was proposed, for there were arising into note men resolved to prosecute the war with a dispatch and an energy not yet conceived. Clearly Milton was troubled by no misgivings as to the event of this military conflict. His mind had passed away from it into other fields, and he thought himself at leisure to open a spiritual campaign.

In strange contrast with the buoyancy and pride of the *Areopagitica* is the tone of certain later writings. The high expectations he had cherished were to be disappointed. It was to be his sad lot to discover that the overthowers of tyranny might themselves prove tyrants.

‘New foes arise
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.’

The Presbyterians were presently to display an intolerance not exceeded by the Episcopalians whom they had displaced :

‘New *presbyter* is but old *priest* writ large.’

And it was to prove impossible to reconstruct a new political order which should be not dependent on the strength and wisdom of a great dictator, and so tottering to its fall the instant he was removed, but, in itself, strong, and stable, and enduring. The age was to be found unequal to the maintenance, or rather the attainment, of the ideal entertained by Milton's lofty spirit. 'Bondage with ease' was to be dearer than 'strenuous liberty.' One may easily believe that Milton expected too much ; that he misinterpreted the signs of the times ; that he too readily supposed others to be actuated by the same high-mindedness and pure enthusiasm that moved himself ; but the discovery of his misapprehensions must have been none the less afflicting ; and with a lesser nature would have ended in mere disgust and contempt for his race. As it was, though some bitter words escaped him, he did not argue

‘Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope ; but still bore up and steered
‘Right onward.’

He was not left comfortless.

‘Thou hast great allies ;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man’s unconquerable mind.’

And the difference just mentioned between his earlier and his later political writings appears not in any growing predominance of scorn and of satire, but in a certain enforced sobriety of expectation. He is prepared for the worst rather than sanguine of the best. If we remember what his dreams had been, and what were the realities he saw, there is a profound pathos in these following words of his, uttered just before the Restoration. When he wrote them, he, like his Samson, was not ‘in the list of them that hope’ ; but, when he wrote the *Areopagitica*, he felt himself called to be a ‘great deliverer,’ Heaven’s ‘nursling and choice delight,’ led on

‘To mightiest deeds
Above the nerve of mortal arm,
Against the Uncircumcised, our enemies.’

The passage now to be quoted forms the conclusion of ‘The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation,’ published in 1660 :—

‘I have no more to say at present ; few words will save us, well considered ; few and easy things now seasonably done. But if the people be so affected as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembering the frequent plagues and pestilences that then wasted this city, such as, through God’s mercy, we never have felt since ; and that trade flourishes nowhere more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day ; yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate, through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it but the luxurious expenses of a nation upon trifles or superfluities ; so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading ; and that, therefore, we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, all concerns divine or human, to keep up trading ; if, lastly, after all this light among us the

same reason shall pass for current to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity ; our condition is not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence ; and will bring us soon the way we are marching to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery, so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchising our government whatever new conceit now possesses us. However, with all hazard, I have ventured what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my country in time ; wherein I doubt not but there be many wise in all places and degrees, but am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken, but a few main matters now put speedily in execution will suffice to recover us and set all right ; and there will want at no time who are good at circumstances, but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them in these most difficult times, I find not many. What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss “ The Good old Cause ” ; if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones ; and had none to cry to but with the prophet “ O earth, earth, earth ! ” to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free ! Nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men,) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men ; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise from these stones to become children of reviving liberty ; and may reclaim though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing ; to exhort this torrent also of the people not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel, and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude.’ (Works, pp. 451-2.)

SECTION II. THE SUBJECT.

And yet Milton's own experience might well have made him mistrustful of his conceptions of the future. The attempt made to reimpose restrictions upon the freedom of expressed thought, against which he raises his voice in the *Areopagitica* with so noble a vehemence, so that it will still be heard to the very end of time, was only too significant of the temper and tendencies of the Presbyterian rule that then lay upon his country. From the meeting of the Long Parliament in November, 1640, to June, 1643, the Press had been practically free¹. Even the custom of registering publications in the books of the Stationers' Company had been widely neglected. On June 14, 1643, the following Ordinance was ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament :—

‘ An Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Regulating of Printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in Printing many false, Scandalous, Seditious, Libellous, and unlicensed Pamphlets, to the great defamation of Religion and Government.

‘ Also, authorizing the Masters & Wardens of the Company of *Stationers* to make diligent search, seize and carry away all such Books as they shall finde Printed, or reprinted by any man having no lawfull interest in them, being entred into the Hall Book to any other man as his proper Copies.

‘ Die Mercurii. 14 June. 1643.—Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament that this Order shall be forthwith printed and published.—J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum : Hen. Elsing Cler. De Com².

‘ *Die Mercurii, 14 Junii. 1643.*

‘ Whereas divers good Orders have bin lately made by both Houses of Parliament, for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in Printing many false, forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed Papers, Pamphlets, and Books to the great defamation of Religion and government. Which orders (notwithstanding the diligence of the Company of *Stationers*, to put them in full execution) having taken little

¹ See Masson's Life of John Milton and History of his Time, iii. 265 *et seq.*

² ‘ LONDON, Printed for I. Wright in the Old-baily, June 16, 1643. See Arber's *Areopagitica*, pp. 25-8.

or no effect: By reason the bill in preparation, for redresse of the said disorders, hath hitherto bin retarded through the present distractions, and very many, as well *Stationers* and *Printers*, as others of sundry other professions not free of the *Stationers* Company, have taken upon them to set up sundry private Printing Presses in corners, and to print, vend, publish and disperse Books, pamphlets and papers, in such multitudes, that no industry could be sufficient to discover or bring to punishment, all the severall abounding delinquents: And by reason that divers of the *Stationers* Company and others being Delinquents (contrary to former orders and the constant custome used among the said Company) have taken liberty to Print, Vend and publish, the most profitable vendible Copies of Books, belonging to the Company and other *Stationers*, especially of such Agents as are employed in putting the said Orders in Execution, and that by way of revenge for giveing information against them to the Houses for their Delinquences in Printing, to the great prejudice of the said Company of *Stationers* and Agents, and to their discouragement in this publik service.

' It is therefore Ordered by the Lords and Commons in *Parliament*, That no Order or Declaration of both, or either House of *Parliament* shall be printed by any, but by order of one or both the said Houses: Nor other Book, Pamphlet, paper, nor part of any such Book, Pamphlet, or paper, shall from henceforth be printed, bound, stitched or put to sale by any person or persons whatsoever, unlesse the same be first approved of and licensed under the hands of such person or persons as both, or either of the said Houses shall appoint for the licensing of the same, and entred in the Register Book of the Company of *Stationers*, according to Ancient custom, and the Printer thereof to put his name thereto. And that no person or persons shall hereafter print, or cause to be reprinted any Book, or Books or part of Book, or Books heretofore allowed of and granted to the said Company of *Stationers* for their relief and maintenance of their poore, without the licence or consent of the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the said Company; Nor any Book or Books lawfully licenced and entred in the Register of the said Company for any particular member thereof, without the licence and consent of the owner or owners thereof. Nor yet import any such Book or Books, or part of Book or Books formerly Printed here, from beyond the Seas, upon paine of forfeiting the same to the Owner, or Owners of the Copies of the said Books, and such further punishment as shall be thought fit.

‘And the Master and Wardens of the said Company, the Gentleman Usher of the House of *Peers*, the Sergeant of the Commons House and their deputies, together with the persons formerly appointed by the Committee of the House of Commons for Examinations, are hereby Authorized and required, from time to time, to make diligent search in all places, where they shall think meete, for all unlicensed Printing Presses, and all Presses any way employed in the printing of scandalous or unlicensed Papers, Pamphlets, Books, or any Copies of Books belonging to the said Company, or any member thereof, without their approbation and consents, and to seize and carry away such Printing Presses, Letters, together with the Nut, Spindle, and other materials of every such irregular Printer, which they find so misemployed, unto the Common Hall of the said Company, there to be defaced and made unserviceable according to Ancient Custom ; And likewise to make diligent search in all suspected Printing-houses, Ware-houses, Shops and other places for such scandalous and unlicensed Books, papers, Pamphlets, and all other Books, not entred, nor signed with the Printers name as aforesaid, being printed, or reprinted by such as have no lawfull interest in them, or any way contrary to this Order, and the same to seize and carry away to the said common hall, there to remain till both or either House of *Parliament* shall dispose thereof, And likewise to apprehend all Authors, Printers, and other persons whatsoever employed in compiling, printing, stitching, binding, publishing and dispersing of the said scandalous, unlicensed, and unwarrantable papers, books and pamphlets as aforesaid, and all those who shall resist the said Parties in searching after them, and to bring them afore either of the Houses or the Committee of Examinations, that so they may receive such further punishments, as their Offences shall demerit, and not to be released untill they have given satisfaction to the Parties employed in their apprehension for their paines and charges, and given sufficient caution not to offend in like sort for the future. And all Justices of the Peace, Captaines, Constables and other officers, are hereby ordered and required to be aiding, and assisting to the foresaid persons in the due execution of all, and singular the premisses and in the apprehension of all Offenders against the same. And in case of opposition to break open Doores and Locks.

‘And it is further ordered, that this Order be forthwith Printed and Published, to the end that notice may be taken thereof, and all Contemners of it left inexcusable.

‘FINIS.’

For some account of the previous history of Book-censorship the reader may be referred to the *Areopagitica* itself, where, in the opening part of his argument, Milton rapidly surveys the conduct of other countries and times in this respect¹. It is clear that books enjoyed an immunity from restriction in the Middle Ages, only because they were held to be of comparatively slight account. As soon as ever their influence began to extend, and the printing press to multiply copies without limit, so soon were they regarded with jealous eyes and threatened with a rigorous supervision. From the close of the fifteenth century a formal censorship became a more and more common institution.

‘The oldest mandate, for appointing a book-censor,’ says Beckmann, ‘is, as far as I know at present, that issued by Berthold, Archbishop of Mentz, in the year 1486, and which may be found in the fourth volume of Guden’s *Codex Diplomaticus*. In the year 1501, Pope Alexander VI. published a bull, the first part of which may form an excellent companion to the mandate of the Archbishop of Mentz. After some complaints against the devil, who sows tares among the wheat, his holiness proceeds thus:— “Having been informed that, by means of the said art, many books and treatises containing various errors and pernicious doctrines, even hostile to the holy Christian religion, have been printed, and are still printed in various parts of the world, particularly in the provinces of Cologne, Mentz, Trier, and Magdeburg: and being desirous, without further delay, to put a stop to this detestable evil, . . . we, by these presents, and by authority of the Apostolic Chamber, strictly forbid all printers, their servants, and those exercising the art of printing under them, in any manner whatsoever, in the abovesaid provinces, under pain of excommunication, and a pecuniary fine, to be imposed and exacted by our venerable brethren the Archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, Trier, and Magdeburg, and their vicars-general or official in spirituals, according to the pleasure of each in his own province, to print hereafter any books, treatises, or writings, until they have consulted on this subject the archbishops, vicars, or officials above-mentioned, and obtained their special and express

¹ See also Standard Library Cyclop. s. v. Press Censorship; Beckmann’s Hist. of Inventions, on Book Censors, and on Exclusive Privilege for Printing Books (ii. 512–522, of the 4th Engl. edit.); Knight’s London, vol. 5, The Old London Booksellers; Hart’s Index Expurgatorius Anglicanus, Parts i and ii; Hallam’s Constitut. Hist. of Engl. *passim*; D’Israeli’s Curiosities of Literature, on Licensers of the Press; Hunt’s Fourth Estate, 1850; Buckle’s Hist. of Civilization in England, &c.

licence, to be granted free of all expense, whose consciences we charge, that before they grant any licence of this kind, they will carefully examine, or cause to be examined, by able and catholic persons, the works to be printed; and that they will take the utmost care that nothing may be printed wicked or scandalous, or contrary to the orthodox faith." The rest of the bull contains regulations to prevent works already printed from doing mischief. All catalogues and books printed before that period were to be examined, and those which contained anything prejudicial to the Catholic religion were to be burned. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was ordered by the well-known Council of the Lateran, held at Rome in the year 1515, that, in future, no books should be printed but such as had been inspected by ecclesiastical censors. In France, the faculty of Theology usurped, as some say, the right of censuring books; but in the year 1650, when public censors, whom the faculty opposed, were appointed, without their consent, they stated the antiquity of their right to be two hundred years. For they said, "It is above two hundred years since the doctors of Paris have had a right to approve books without being subjected but to their own faculty, to which they assert they are alone responsible for their decisions."

In countries where the Inquisition was established the work of the censorship was undertaken by the Holy Office. Elsewhere it was taken up by the bishops. In England it was especially discharged by the Star Chamber, a Court that was in fact, whatever the theoretic constitution, mainly in the hands of the bishops¹. Long before Archbishop Laud's time this Court had exercised authority over the Press (as, for example, at Whitgift's instance in 1585); but it was under him that its restrictive power was put forth in its severest form. On the 11th day of July, 1637, was passed the notorious 'Decree of Starre-Chamber Concerning Printing.' This document may be found entire in Mr. Arber's Reprint of the *Areopagitica*. We quote here only the more relevant of its thirty-three clauses.

'In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, vndeclimo die Iulii, Anno decimo tertio CAROLI Regis.

'Imprimis, That no person or persons whatsoeuer shall presume to print, or cause to bee printed, either in the parts beyond the Seas, or in this Realme, or other his Maiesties Dominions,

¹ See Gardiner's Personal Government of Charles I, i. 161.

any seditious, scismaticall, or offensive Bookes or Pamphlets, to the scandall of Religion, or the Church, or the Government, or Governours of the Church or State, or Commonwealth, or of any Corporation, or particular person or persons whatsoeuer, nor shall import any such Booke or Bookes, nor sell or dispose of them, or any of them, nor cause any such to be bound, stitched, or sowed, vpon paine that he or they so offending, shall loose all such Bookes and Pamphlets, and also haue, and suffer such correction, and severe punishment, either by Fine, imprisonment, or other corporall punishment, or otherwise, as by this Court, or by His Maiesties Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the high Commission Court, respectiuely, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fit to be inflicted upon him, or them, for such their offence and contempt.

‘II. *Item*, That no person or persons whatsoeuer, shall at any time print, or cause to be imprinted, any Booke or Pamphlet whatsoever vnlesse the same Booke or Pamphlet, and also all and euery the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other matters and things whatsoeuer thereunto annexed, or therewith imprinted, shall be first lawfully licenced and authorized onely by such person and persons as are hereafter expressed, and by no other, and shall be also first entred into the Registers Booke of the Company of Stationers ; vpon paine that every Printer offending therein, shall be for euer hereafter disabled to use or exercise the Art or Mysterie of Printing, and receiue such further punishment, as by this Court or the high Commission Court respectiuely, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.

‘III. *Item*, That all Bookes concerning the common Lawes of this Realme shall be printed by the especiall allowance of the Lords chiefe Iustices, and the Lord chiefe Baron for the time being, or one or more of them, or by their appointment : And that all Books of History, belonging to this State, and present tynes, or any other Booke of State affaires, shall be licenced by the principall Secretaries of State, or one of them, or by their appointment ; And that all Bookes concerning Heraldry, Titles of Honour and Armes, or otherwise concerning the Office of Earle Marshall, shall be licenced by the Earle Marshall, or by his appointment ; And further, that all other Books, whetheroft Diuinitie, Phisicke, Philosophie, Poetry, or whatsoeuer, shall be allowed by the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or Bishop of *London* for the time being, or by their appointment, or the Chancellours, or Vice Chancellors of either of the Vniuersities of this Realme for the time being.

‘Alwayes prouided, that the Chancellour or Vice-Chancellour,

of either of the Vniuersities, shall Licence onely such Booke or Bookes that are to be Printed within the limits of the Vniuersities respectiueley, but not in *London*, or elsewhere, not medling either with Bookes of the common Law, or matters of State.

‘IV. *Item*, That euery person and persons, which by any Decree of this Court are, or shall be appointed or authorized to Licence Bookes, or giue Warrant for imprinting thereof, as is aforesaid, shall haue two seuerall written Copies of the same Booke or Bookes with the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other things whatsoeuer thereunto annexed. One of which said Copies shall be kept in the publike Registries of the said Lord Arch-Bishop, and Bishop of *London* respectiueley, or in the Office of the Chancellour, or Vice-Chancellour of either of the Vniuersities, or with the Earle Marshall or principall Secretaries of State, or with the Lords chiese Iustices, or chiese Baron, of all such Bookes as shall be licenced by them respectiueley, to the end that he or they may be secure, that the Copy so licensed by him or them shall not bee altered without his or their priuitie, and the other shall remain with him whose Copy it is, and vpon both the said Copies, he or they that shall allow the said Booke, shall testifie vnder his or their hand or hands, that there is nothing in that Booke or Books contained, that is contrary to Christian Faith, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, nor against the State or Gouernment, nor contrary to good life, or good manners, or otherwise, as the nature and subiect of the work shall require, which licence or approbation shall be imprinted in the beginning of the same Booke, with the name, or names of him or them that shall authorize or license the same, for a testimonie of the allowance thereof.

‘VII. *Item*, That no person or persons shall within this Kingdome, or elsewhere imprint, or cause to be imprinted, nor shall import or bring in, or cause to be imported or brought into this Kingdome, from, or out of any other His Maiesties Dominions, nor from other, or any parts beyond the Seas, any Copy, book or books, or part of any booke or bookes, printed beyond the seas, or elsewhere, which the said Company of Stationers, or any other person or persons haue, or shall by any Letters Patents, Order, or Entrance in their Register book, or otherwise, haue the right, priuiledge, authoritie, or allowance soley to print, nor shall bind, stitch, or put to sale, any such booke or bookes, vpon paine of losse and forfeiture of all the said bookes, and of such Fine, or other punishment, for euery booke or part of a booke so imprinted or imported, bound, stitched, or put to sale, to be leuyed of the party so offending, as by the power of this Court, or the

high Commission Court respectiuely, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

‘VIII. *Item*, Euery person and persons that shall hereafter Print, or cause to be Printed, any Bookes, Ballads, Charts, Portraiture, or any other thing or things whatsoeuer, shall thereunto or thereon Print and set his and their owne name or names, as also the name or names of the Author or Authors, Maker or Makers of the same, and by, or from whom any such booke, or other thing is, or shall be printed, vpon pain of forfiture of all such Books, Ballads, Chartes, Portraitures, and other thing or things, printed contrary to this Article ; And the presses, Letters and other instruments for Printing, wherewith such Books, ballads, Chartes, Portraitures, and other thing or things shall be printed, to be defaced and made vnseruiceable, and the party and parties so offending, to be fined, imprisoned, and haue such other corporall punishment, or otherwise, as by this Honourable Court, or the said high Comission respectiuely, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

‘XII. *Item*, That no stranger or forreigner whatsoeuer, be suffiered to bring in, or vent here, any booke or bookes printed beyond the seas, in any language whatsoeuer, either by themselues or their secret Factors, except such onely as bee free Stationers of *London*, and such as haue beene brought vp in that profession, and haue their whole meanes of subsistance, and liuelihood depending thereupon, vpon paine of confiscacon of all such Books so imported, and such further penalties, as by this Court, or the high Commission Court respectiuely, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit to be imposed.

‘XIII. *Item*, That no person or persons within the Citie of *London*, or the liberties thereof, or elsewhere, shall erect or cause to be erected any Presse or Printing-house, nor shall demise, or let, or suffer to be held or vsed, any house, vault, seller, or other roome whatsoeuer, to, or by any person or persons, for a Printing-house, or place to print in, vnlesse he or they which shall so demise or let the same, or suffer the same to be so vsed, shall first giue notice to the said Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers for the time being, of such demise, or suffering to worke or print there, upon paine of imprisonment, and such other punishment as by this Court, or the said high Commission Court respectiuely, as the seuerall Causes shall require, shall bee thought fit.

‘XV. *Item*, The Court doth declare, that as formerly, so now, there shall be but Twentie Master Printers allowed to haue the vse of one Presse or more, as is after specified, and doth hereby nominate, allow, and admit these persons whose names hereafter

follow, to the number of Twentie, to have the vse of a Presse, or Presses and Printing-house, for the time being, *viz. Felix Kingstone, Adam Islip, Thomas Purfoot, Miles Flesher, Thomas Harper, John Beale, John Legat, Robert Young, John Hawland, George Miller, Richard Baager, Thomas Cotes, Bernard Alsop, Richard Bishop, Edward Griffin, Thomas Purslow, Richard Hodgkinsonne, John Dawson, John Raworth, Marmuauke Parsons.* And further, the Court doth order and decree, That it shall be lawfull for the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Bishop of *London*, for the time being, taking to him or them six other high Commissioners, to supply the place or places of those which are now already Printers by this Court, as they shall fall void by death, or Censure, or otherwise; Prouided that they exceed not the number of Twentie, besides his Maiesties Printers, and the Printers allowed for the Vniuersities.

‘XXII. Item, The Court doth hereby declare, that it doth not hereby restraine the Printers of either of the Vniuersities from taking what number of Apprentices for their seruice in printing there, they themselues shall thinke fit. Prouided alwayes, that the said Printers in the Vniuersities shall employ all their owne Journey-men within themselves, and not suffer any of their said Journey-men to go abroad for imployment to the Printers of *London* (vnlesse vpon occasion some Printers of *London* desire to employ some extraordinary Workman or Workmen amongst them, without preiudice to their owne Journey-men, who are Freemen) vpon such penalty as the Chancellor of either of the Vniuersities for the time being, shall thinke fit to inflict vpon the delinquents herein.

‘XXV. Item, That for the better discouery of printing in Corners without licence; The Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers for the time being, or any two licensed Master-Printers, which shall be appointed by the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or Lord B. of *London* for the time being, shall haue power and authority, to take vnto themselues such assistance as they shall think needfull, and to search what houses and shops (and at what time they shall think fit) especially Printing-houses, and to view what is in printing, and to call for the license to see whether it be licenced or no, and if not, to seize vpon so much as is printed, together with the seuerall offenders, and to bring them before the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, that they or either of them may take such further order therein as shall appertaine to Iustice.

‘XXVI. Item, The Court doth declare, that it shall be lawfull also for the said Searchers, if, vpon search they find any book or booke, or part of booke or books which they suspect to containe matter in it or them, contrary to the doctrine and discipline of

the Church of *England*, or against the State and Government, upon such suspition to seize upon such book or books, or part of booke or books, and to bring it, or them, to the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, who shall take such further course therein, as to their Lordships, or either of them shall seeme fit.

‘XXVII. Item, The Court doth order and declare, that there shall be foure Founders of letters for printing allowed, and no more, and doth hereby nominate, allow, and admit these persons, whose names hereafter follow, to the number of foure, to be letter-Founders for the time being, (viz.) *John Grismand, Thomas Wright, Arthur Nichols, Alexander Fifeild*. And further, the Court doth Order and Decree, that it shall be lawfull for the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, taking unto him or them, six other high Commissioners, to supply the place or places of these who are now allowed Founders of letters by this Court, as they shall fall void by death, censure, or otherwise.

Prouided, that they exceede not the number of foure, set downe by this Court. And if any person or persons, not being an allowed Founder, shall notwithstanding take vpon him, or them, to Found, or cast letters for printing, vpon complaint and proofe made of such offence, or offences, he, or they so offending, shal suffer such punishment, as this Court, or the High Commission court respectiue, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall think fit to inflict vpon them.

‘XXXIII. Item, That whereas there is an agreement betwixt Sir *Thomas Bodley*, Knight, Founder of the Vniuersity Library at *Oxford*, and the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of Stationers (viz.) That one Booke of euery sort that is new printed, or reprinted with additions, be sent to the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* for the vse of the publique Librarie there ; The Court doth hereby Order, and declare, That euery Printer shall reserue one Book new printed, or reprinted by him, with additions, and shall before any publique venting of the said book, bring it to the Common Hall of the Companie of Stationers, and deliuer it to the Officer thereof to be sent to the Librarie at *Oxford* accordingly vpon paine of imprisonment, and such further Order and Direction therein, as to this Court, or the high Commission Court respectiue, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.’

At the very time this rigorous edict was passed, Prynne¹, Burton, and Bastwick were lying in various prisons, the earless and

¹ See Gardiner’s Pers. Gov. of Charles I (ii. 39, 41), as to Prynne’s previous appearances before the Star Chamber.

branded victims of the Court that issued it ; but they were presently to be the victors. Their treatment excited the deepest commiseration throughout the country. The Star-Chamber might make its 'Decrees,' but its days were numbered. With the meeting of the Long Parliament its elaborate edict became mere waste paper. In July 1641 an Act was passed for 'regulating the Privy Council, and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber': and so this jealous Court expired, never, happily, to be revived, though there were not wanting at the Restoration those who would have rejoiced over its renascence.

But the spirit that moved it did not die with it, and was soon perceived merely to have transmigrated into a new body. For a time indeed it was comparatively inoperative and dumb ; but in less than three years it began to make its presence once more felt. There soon arose complaints of the unmitigated freedom of discussion that was found to prevail. Those who opened the lips of the nation were astonished at the thronging cries that proceeded from them. Freedom of speech was all very well when an enemy was the object of attack ; but when it was themselves that were irreverently canvassed and exposed, it was not quite so free from objection. Moreover 'new heresies,' so called, were springing up every day. Men were striking away from all the proper and respectable highways of thought into paths no decorous person had ever heard of. Whose 'views' were safe from assault ? It was altogether uncomfortable to have to be perpetually reconsidering and defending one's creed. This state of things was felt to be singularly 'unsettling.'

Not the least amongst the innovating offenders was Milton himself. His *Divorce* treatises had greatly scandalized many who had exulted in his succour in the controversy with the bishops in 1641 and 1642. They were denounced from the pulpit in a sermon¹ preached before the two Houses of Parliament in August 1664, and shortly afterwards² petitioned against by the Stationers' Company.

Milton then had personal reasons for coming forward as the champion of Unlicensed Printing, and, apart from these personal motives, he was well aware of the animosity his *Divorce* writings

¹ See Masson's *Milton*, iii. pp. 162-4 and 263.

² *Ibid.* 165.

had aroused, for he speaks of 'the world of disesteem' in which he found himself. Possibly, in some pew at St. Margaret's, Westminster, he heard himself spoken of as 'impudent' enough to 'set his name' 'to a wicked book which was abroad, and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt.' Perhaps there was never incarnate a spirit so impatient of all petty regulation and control as was that of Milton. Not that he meant 'license' when he cried 'liberty,' for his sense of law was as deep as his nature ; and, bold thinker as he was, he was ever ready and eager to acknowledge all just and eternal restrictions upon human thought. But for any meaner limitings, they moved in him disdain and indignation.

'For me,' he writes in *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy*, 'I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech, from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good.'

His was eminently 'a free and knowing spirit,' and resented, as a fearful ignominy, any attempts to bind and shackle it. Our supreme dramatic poet tells us, in one of his sonnets, of certain sights that 'tired' him, and made him cry for 'restfull death'; and amongst the sickening spectacles are

Strength by limping sway disabled,
And art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly doctor-like controlling skill.'

Not other are the visions Milton sees in his *Areopagitica* :—

'What is it but a servitude, like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges ?

'What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular to come under the fescue of an imprimatur ?'

But these things do not 'tire' and dishearten Milton. Rather they inflame him with a noble rage ; and so, in a very splendour of wrath, he rouses himself to strike them down. He seems 'larger than human,' as he advances to the fray, and the air around is filled with lightnings, and a clear way cleft in front of him with thunderbolts no shields can stay.

βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ
· · · φλογὶ εἰκελος Ἡφαίστοιο
σεβέστρῳ.

It need scarcely be said that Milton's fitness for the cnam-pionship he assumed was recognised by others. Indeed it was partly in deference to the urgency of others that he stood for-ward as he did. Learned men were complaining of the new tyranny—

‘And that so generally that when I disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon learning.’

SECTION III. THE FORM.

As Milton wished directly to appeal to the Parliament, and not merely to talk at them, it seemed to him well to cast what he had to say in the form of a Speech addressed straight to them. Not that the speech was ever meant to be delivered in the ordinary sense. Just as the best dramatic pieces of the present century were written to be read—not to be seen acted—so this work was meant to be read, not heard delivered. It was meant for the closet, not for the forum. The author ascends an imaginary tribune, and conceives the Lords and Commons of England gathered around to listen. This direct expression suited better the mood of Milton's spirit at the time. He was terribly in earnest, and zealous to strike home. He did not propose merely to discuss the general question at issue, but he longed also to expostulate immediately and fervently with the Government on the character of the policy they were enforcing. It seemed to him no idle matter fit for leisurely disquisition, but a matter of life and death ; and so far as might be, he would put aside all intervening obstacles, and say out in the very ears of those whom he would move the thoughts that burned within him. Moreover, it gave no trifling charm in his judgment to this treat-ment of his subject that precedents for it were, as we shall see, to be found in that Greek literature which was his delight.

It is to be remembered then, that the Parliament is immediately before the eye of his mind throughout this discourse. The exordium or opening passage is altogether devoted to their praises, and the depreciation of any annoyance that might possibly be created by his boldness in intruding his voice upon them. He says that the mere thought of whom it is his address 'hath recourse to,' stirs in him a strange excitement—'hath got the power within me to a passion far more welcome than incidental to a preface.' And, indeed, this was no wonder, when we think of the immortal services that 'High Court' had done for England. In the subsequent history of the Long Parliament there may be something that is ignoble and mean. It may be that it outlived its vigour, and in its senility sank into folly and contempt ; but it is not possible to recall its illustrious youth and the prowess of it without pride and admiration. Milton's audience was at the time he spoke not unworthy of Milton. And amidst all the eulogies that contemporaries and writers since of all shades of political opinion have bestowed upon that memorable House of Commons, no higher compliment was ever paid to it than when the ardent soul of Milton turned so impetuously towards it to pray for the relaxation of bonds that seemed to stifle the very spirit of freedom. Its past career filled him with confidence for the future.

'For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect ; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attained that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter that we are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will bee attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God, our deliverer ; next, to your faithfull guidance, and undaunted Wisdome, Lords and Commons of England.'

It has been already said that for this Reading Speech, if we may call it so (as we speak of a Reading Play as opposed to an Acting Play), Milton found Greek example. Indeed it is possible enough that Greek example may have, in the first

instance, suggested the form of the work. Perhaps no one has ever lived in modern times who appreciated more intensely than Milton the excellence of Greek art. His writings abound with professions and testimonies of this distinguishing Hellenism. Thus, in a letter to Leonard Philaros, the Athenian, in 1654, he speaks of himself as 'A pueritia totius Græci nominis tua-rumque in primis Athenarum cultor, si quis alias¹'; i.e. 'as from his boyhood a worshipper, if ever there was one, of all that bore the Greek name, and especially of your Athens.' In the remarks with which he prefaces *Samson Agonistes*, he pronounces Aeschylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, 'the three tragic poëts unequalled by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write tragedy.' See the famous passage in the Fourth Book of *Paradise Regained*, where he describes Athens with an accurate minuteness that is not slightly significant of the frequency and the devotion with which, in thought at least, he had visited that fair metropolis of the world of mind.

'Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold,
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits.
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls
His whispering stream: within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next.'

It was one of the dearest hopes of his youth to visit this Athens in the body, but 'when I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling abroad while my fellow-citizens

¹ Epist. Fam. 15.

were fighting for liberty at home¹. It may well be believed that this resignation of his Greek tour was not the least of the sacrifices Milton made at the call of Duty. Such was the fascination of Greek artistic form over him that, as is well known, his first design for his great poem was formed on the model of the Greek drama. Towards the close of his life he did so plan and compose his *Samson Agonistes*.

The *Areopagitica* illustrates the influence of Greece upon him scarcely less than the *Samson Agonistes*. Its name is Greek, and its model was Greek. In the prose work, Isokrates is to the author what Euripides was to him in the dramatic poem. And it is introduced with a Greek motto².

In looking round for parallels to himself, in his oration to the English Parliament in behalf of a Free Press, he naturally turned his eyes to Greece, and the men who in the days of Greece³ 'profest the study of wisdom and eloquence.' He saw the nearest resemblance to his own case in the *Λόγος Ἀρεοπαγιτικός*, the Areopagitic Discourse of Isokrates, and he adopted the name, or a mere variation of it⁴. It is Isokrates he means when he speaks of him 'who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens that persuades them to change the form of Democracy which was then established.' To this same writer he alludes in his Sonnet to the Lady Margaret Ley. The Lady Margaret's father, the Earl of Marlborough, was said to have died broken-hearted by the dissolution of the Parliament of 1628⁵ (Charles I's third Parliament), and Milton finds a parallel in the story that the news of Philip of Macedon's victory over the Athenians in 338 B.C. killed Isokrates. 'The good Earl,' he says, after his retirement from public life, lived on,

¹ The Second Defence.

² From the *Suppliants* of Euripides, a favourite author with Milton. See Suppl. 438-41. The readings given are such as could not be retained when once the structure of the Iambic was understood. The first line now runs.

τούλεύθερον δ' ἔκεινο τίς θέλει πόλει.

the last, more satisfactorily perhaps :

σιγῇ τί τούτων ἔστι λοιπέρον πόλει;

³ See p. 4, l. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* l. 1.

⁵ The Parliament was dissolved March 10, 1628-9. Lord Marlborough died on March 14th.

‘more in himself content,
Till the sad breaking of that Parliament
Broke him ; as that dishonest victory
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
Kill’d with report that old man eloquent.’

This ‘old man eloquent’ was at the time of his death some ninety-eight years of age, being born in 436 B.C. As a young man he had won the highest praise from Sokrates. See Plato’s *Phaidros*, 279 A, when, Lysias having been discussed, Phaidros asks Sokrates what he has to say for Isokrates :—
 Δοκεῖ μοι, answers the Sage, ἀμείνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν εἶναι λόγους τὰ τῆς φύσεως, ἔτι τε ἥθει γεννικωτέρω κεκράσθαι· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο θαυμαστὸν, προϊούσης τῆς ἡλικίας εἰ περὶ αὐτούς τε τοὺς λόγους, οἷς νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ, πλέον ἡ παιδῶν διενέγκοι τῶν πώποτε ἀψαμένων λόγων, ἔτι τε, εἰ αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μείζω δι τις αὐτὸν ἄγοι ὄρμὴ θειοτέρα. φύσει γὰρ, ὡ φίλε, ἔνεστι τις φιλοσοφία τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίᾳ. ‘I think he deserves a higher estimate than we have given Lysias as to natural gifts, and further that he is compounded with a nobler nature ; so that it would prove no wonder, as he advances in years, if in respect of the very rhetoric, which he now takes in hand, he should excel all who have ever yet applied themselves to it as if they were scarcely children at it ; and further, should such success not suffice him, if a certain diviner impulse should lead him to greater things ; for, my friend, there is an inborn philosophical power in his intellect.’ Isokrates scarcely fulfilled this high prophecy ; but as a rhetorician he became supremely eminent. Physical weakness incapacitated him from the public practice of his art ; but he became the most famous teacher of his day, and, what more nearly concerns us, the great composer of Reading Speeches, which enjoyed a wide circulation throughout Greece. Especially noticeable was he for connecting oratory and politics ; for before his time the art of speaking, ‘with the exception of the panegyrical species, had hitherto been cultivated chiefly for the contest of the courts¹.

The drift of his *Areopagiticos* has already been quoted from Milton himself. Its purpose was in fact to bring back to Athens

¹ See Lewis’ Müller’s Hist. of the Literature of Ancient Greece, p. 505.

the old democracy. It was written 'in the beginning of the Philippic times¹', at a critical period in Attic history, *τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνοις οὕσης ἡ σφαλερῶς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστώτων*, though men shut their eyes to the perils that encompassed them²; and he urges that the only way to avert future dangers, and deliver themselves from those already present, is to resolve to recall the democracy, 'which Solon, who proved so great a friend of the people ordained by law, and Kleisthenes, who cast out the tyrants and brought back the people, once more established afresh.' This was not perhaps the program of a great statesman, but rather of a visionary, or a 'professor'; for decayed forms of government are not so easily recalled to life. Certainly, the wails of a rhetorician over the pulseless body have no power to re-inspire it. Isokrates proceeds to insist more particularly on the revival and reinstatement of the Court of the Areopagos³, and hence the name of his discourse. He praises its composition, and the functions it exercised, which he sums up as 'the caring for good order' (*ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας*)⁴.

Between this speech and that of Milton, as respects subject matter, there is clearly but a slight resemblance; there is rather an opposition; for Isokrates aims at recalling an interfering power, Milton at removing one. What recommended the name to Milton is, as has already been remarked, the likeness between his position and that of the Greek. He too 'wrote' 'from his private house' 'a discourse' on a high political question. As Isokrates addressed the Boulé, so Milton the Parliament. But it cannot be said that Milton was happy in christening his treatise as he did. The name is, and will be, a perpetual stumbling-

¹ Ἐγράφη δ' ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῶν Φιλιππικῶν χρόνων. See the *Τπόθεσις ἀνανύμον γραμματικοῦ*.

² Εὑρίσκω γάρ ταύτην μόνην ἀν γενομένην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων κινδύνων ἀποτροπὴν καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἣν ἐθελήσωμεν ἐκείνην τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἣν Σύλων μὲν ὁ δημοτικώτατος γενόμενος ἐνομοθέτησε, Κλεισθένης δ' ὁ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλάν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταγαγάν πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέστησεν. Isokrates' Areop. 143 a.

³ On the Areopagos see Smith's Dict. of Antiquities; Müller's Dissertations on the Eumenides of Aeschylus; Hermann's Manual of Grecian Antiquities; Grote's Greece, ii. 281, &c.

⁴ See a quotation from this same speech in Ascham's Scholemaster, p. 58, ed. Arber.

block to the Englishman. How it must have made, and how it makes now, the ordinary Briton 'stare and gasp'! It is essentially an unpopular title, and may be taken as a sign of Milton's indifference to merely popular approval. He cared for 'fit audience, though few' (*Par. Lost*, vii. 31); to 'be heard only,' if it might be, by the 'elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address myself' (*Reason of Church Government*, p. 43 of *Works*); to 'have the good wishes of here and there some,' 'by whom, ever so few though they be, I, for my part, would rather be approved, than by countless companies of unskilled ones, in whom is nothing of mind, or right reason, or sound judgment' (Prolusion I); 'not to seduce the simple and illiterate,' but 'to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly or to be convinced.'

For the rest there is but little likeness between the styles of the two works. But in this respect, too, a sharp contrast,—that of Isokrates is exquisitely refined and clear. the marble is smoothed to the utmost—'ne quid possit per leve morari.' The immense care he bestowed upon the composition of his orations, and the time he spent in working them out and polishing them, may be inferred from the statement that he was engaged for a period of ten, and, according to others, of fifteen years upon his Panegyric Oration¹. The style is the man, and Isokrates' style well reflects Isokrates. Like our poet Pope, he says perspicuously and well what he has to say, but then it is not so very much. The water is pellucid, but then it is not deep. With Milton it was far different. He had more to say than he could say. His thoughts rush upon him in a throng that he can at times scarcely order and control. His utterance is almost choked. He brought to his work an immense mass of knowledge, such as won for him the title of 'learned' in an age of learned men; and at the same time, as we have seen, the profoundest depths of a profound nature were stirred and moved by the character of his enterprise. No wonder then, if at times his eloquence wellnigh overmastered him, bursting forth torrent-like, or

¹ See Smith's larger Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology s. v. 'Isocrates,' and the reference there given to Quintilian, x. 4. 4.

flashing out in a fiery shower that would not be confined. The fact is that for the expression of such a genius as that of Milton, a genius so quick and fertile by nature, so splendidly cultivated and enriched by long and eager study, metre was absolutely necessary, not only as its natural form but for the very restraints it imposed. He judged quite justly of himself, when, called by Duty, as he thought, to write prose, he felt himself comparatively inefficient and maimed. 'If I were wise only to mine own ends,' he wrote, 'I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand¹.' It was not natural for him to write in 'the pedestrian manner.' Of him Quintilian's words of Plato are true, but they scarcely say enough: 'Plato multo supra prosam orationem et quam pedestrum ($\pi\epsilon\zeta\circ\nu$) Graeci vocant surgit.' Beneath all his prose periods the fire of his poetry may be seen gleaming, and ever and anon it breaks through and blazes up supreme. It is an incalculable loss to our poetical literature that Milton's part in it is comparatively so scanty. Poetry was his 'calling'; he had, in his very youth, recognised it to be so; with a singular devotion and an unparalleled industry he had striven to ripen himself for his work; his 'clear spirit' raised

'To scorn delights and live laborious days;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury.'

She came to Milton not to 'slit the thin-spun life,' but to appoint him a far different lot from that of which he had fondly dreamt. With 'small willingness' he ventured 'to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, sed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.'

Occasionally the difficulty found in the style of the *Areopagitica*

¹ *Reason of Church Government.*

is due to Milton's attempting a Greek arrangement of the words ; but, most commonly, it is due to the obscurity to which Elizabethan prose, with its periodic structure, was signally liable in the hands of a writer so impetuous and so abundant as Milton. In his use of this periodic structure Milton was no doubt encouraged by the example of Isokrates, who was famous for his full-flowing expanded sentences. ' In his earlier labours,' says Müller, ' he took as much pains with this symmetrical structure [the antithetical, previously most cultivated] as any Sophist could have done ; but in the more flourishing period of his art he contrived to melt down the rigidity and stiffness of the antithesis, by breaking through the direct and immediate opposition of sentences, and by marshalling them in successive groups and a longer series.' With him the result, thanks partly to his own nature, as we have said above, and partly to the character of the language in which he wrote—a language in which, through the variety of its inflexions, and, still more, through its richness in particles, or links ($\deltaέσμοι$), as they were called, complexity is possible without intricacy—is not obscurity but clearness. With Milton, it must be allowed, the danger of obscurity is not always avoided. The reader had needs be careful, or he will lose the main path, and find himself in what seems at first a hopeless labyrinth. It is easy, however, to exaggerate this peril. Perhaps all that is really needed by the student is great care. Milton's periods are not really mere confused tangles of ornate phraseology, as listening to some critics one might be led to suppose.

Milton is the last great writer in the old periodic style. Not a greater change came over our poetry than over our prose in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Dryden's Essays differ in style from Milton's pamphlets as much as his *Fables* from *Paradise Lost*. There is no one who does not admire the brilliant transparency of the style of the later writer, and the good service he did for us in impressing that virtue upon our literature. It would be a narrow criticism, that, fascinated by that sovereign charm, should fail to recognise what is worthy and noble in the older writer. Milton's sentences possess a stately majesty that belongs to a different sphere from that which gave birth to Dryden.

‘Another race hath been, and other palms are won.’

‘There were giants in those days’; and let not the generation that succeeds disparage their mighty predecessors. In a sense Milton was the last of the Titans, and his style is Titanic.

‘Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like *the Sea*.’

SECTION IV. THE RESULT.

It was not till ‘after many days’—not till after his own eyes were closed in death—that the bread Milton cast upon the waters was seen. The Press was not delivered from Licensers till 1694—just twenty years after the decease of their great opponent; just half a century after the publication of the *Areopagitica*.

From the Presbyterians indeed, who were in power in 1644, there was nothing to be hoped. Mention has already been made of the bitter discovery which Milton and kindred free spirits were to have forced upon them—that, in exchanging Convocation for Synod, they had but substituted one tyranny for another. And thus, for all the impassioned appeals of the *Areopagitica*, the Parliament did not relax the Ordinance, which was, in fact, as we have seen, but an old Star-Chamber decree re-enacted¹. This Ordinance was in some sort repealed or re-inforced in 1647, 1649, and 1652. A warrant of Lord-General Fairfax, dated January 9, directs Captain Richard Lawrence, Marshal-General of ‘the Army under my command,’ in virtue of the Parliamentary Ordinance of 1649 (dated January 5), to put in execution the previous enactments concerning ‘scandalous and unlicensed pamphlets.’ The Marshal-General is ‘required and authorized to take into custody any person or persons who have offended or shall hereafter offend, against the said Ordinances, and inflict upon them such corporal punishments, and levy such penalties upon them for each offence, as are therein mentioned, and not discharge them till they have made full payment thereof, and received the said punishment accordingly.’ And he is further authorized and required to make diligent search ‘from time to

¹ See Kerr’s Blackstone, iv. 161, note; Scobell’s *Acts and Ordinances*.

time, in all places wherein he shall think meet, for all unlicensed printing presses any way employed in printing scandalous and unlicensed papers, pamphlets, books, or ballads, and to search for such unlicensed books, papers, treatises,' &c. But even in those dark days Milton made at least one convert, and we may well believe that throughout the country those who had ears to hear heard him, although there might be no public response. This one convert was one of the Licensers, Gilbert Mabbott by name. When in May 1649 he resigned his post, he gave reasons for this step that were clearly derived from the *Areopagitica*¹.

When the Independents rose into power, though there was no formal repeal of the stringent ordinances of the Long Parliament, yet they were no longer executed, at least so far as matters of religious opinion were concerned, with the rigour their predecessors had practised, or desired. The office of Licenser fell into abeyance. Religious tolerance had long been the watchword of the Independents, and it redounds to their glory that they did not, after attaining power, discredit the professions they had made when smarting under the coercions of others. It is true that their notion of tolerance was imperfect, as indeed was that of Milton and of Jeremy Taylor ; that they excepted Roman Catholics ; that they once or twice inflicted punishment on anti-trinitarians ; that they ordered certain blasphemous books to be burned ; that they prohibited the Episcopalian worship. Something might readily be said by way of apology for these defections from the highest ideal. But this defence unattempted, it remains true that they were the first party in England, perhaps in Europe, that distinctly professed the principle of religious toleration as a practical principle of their politics, and that after the overthrow of the Presbyterians they adhered in success to the creed of their adversity. With regard to political writings during the Commonwealth, the peculiar position of the government must be remembered. It is clear that a free political Press is not easily compatible with a rule that is not firmly based on the national consent. And, however decided we may reject the old royalist legends of Cromwell's selfish ambition and

¹ See Birch's Life of Milton. Birch quotes from 'A Perfect Diurnal of some Passages in Parliament,' &c., No. 304, for May, 21-29, 1649.

remorseless tyranny,—to whatever degree we may sympathize with Milton's admiration for

‘Our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and His work pursu'd,’—

whatever pride we may take in his foreign policy, that made the English name respected and potent throughout Europe as scarcely ever before or since,—yet it must be confessed that the Protector governed a reluctant people, and was encompassed at home by discontents and threatenings and treacheries. Not all his merits could overcome the enormous difficulties of the situation : for partly they were not recognised at all ; partly they were in the eyes of a great mass of the nation more than counterbalanced by what were thought to be egregious errors and defects. Hence, in mere self-defence, it seemed that private presses could not be allowed, and that allowed presses must be regulated. It was ordered in October 1653 (some two months before the Protectorate was formally established) that no person should presume to publish in print any matter of public news or intelligence without leave and approbation of the Secretary of State.

A government obnoxious to the prejudices of the country, and that could not with safety to itself permit political matters to be freely discussed, could not be expected to stand. When the strong hand of Cromwell was relaxed by death, there was no vital force left in the political system he had organized ; and after nine months of imminent chaos the nation, whose loyalty had never expired, but had of late years burned fervently, however silently, turned once more to its old traditions.

With the Restoration the old *régime* was for the most part revived. It was even proposed by some ardent spirits to recall the Star Chamber into life ; but, wild as was the reactionary enthusiasm of the day, they failed to achieve such a dismal resurrection. But the old restrictions of the Press were once more rigorously enforced. In 1662 the office of Licenser was

revived, the Judges, certain officers of state, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, being appointed to supervise various departments of literature. In 1663 Roger L'Estrange was appointed Licenser—an appointment he seems to have held, possibly with an intermission, till the Revolution, when he was succeeded by one Fraser, who, probably for some negligence in the discharge of his functions—it is said for having allowed to be printed Dr. Walker's *True Account of the Author of Eikon Basilike*—was presently dismissed, when Edmund Bohun, a Suffolk justice, took his place. Bohun was to be the last of the Licensers, for the system had entered upon its last generation when it was reinstated by Charles II.

The Act of 1662¹ was, in short, but a new version of the previous parliamentary ordinances; and a proclamation was issued 'for suppressing the printing and publishing unlicensed news-books and pamphlets of news, because it has become a common practice for evil-disposed persons to vend to his Majesty's people all the idle and malicious reports that they could collect or invent, contrary to law; the continuance whereof would, in a short time, endanger the peace of the kingdom; the same manifestly tending thereto, as has been declared by all his Majesty's subjects unanimously.' L'Estrange, himself a virulent pamphleteer and acrid journalist both before and after the Restoration, was not idle in his office; and so our literature, under his dictatorship, was subjected to perpetual mutilation. 'The sponge'² was ever in his hand, and he slurred and rubbed without compunction. Out of many instances of the manner in which this censorial jurisdiction was exercised by him, or by his assessors, Milton himself may be cited. It appears that *Paradise Lost* was itself in danger. The suspicious eye of the licenser—the Rev. Thomas Tomkyns, one of the chaplains of Archbishop Sheldon—had lighted upon certain lines in Book I; see 594–600.

‘As when the sun new ris’n
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds

¹ 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 33.

² See p. 12.

On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Dark'n'd so, yet shone
Above them all th' Archangel.'

The sensitive royalist, it is said, smelt treason in this mention of monarchs perplexed with fear of change, and pondered whether he should not suppress the whole work, though indeed a free excision might have satisfied the requirements of the case. That he permitted to pass unchallenged other passages of the poem, as I. 497-502, VII. 23-38, XII. 13-104, may perhaps excite surprise. Possibly he may have thought it not worth his while to revise too severely a work that seemed so little in harmony with the taste of the time, and therefore so little likely to enjoy any wide popularity. In the case of another of his writings Milton did not escape so easily. His *History of Britain* actually suffered laceration. Several passages, describing the pride and superstition of the 'Saxon' monks were, it is said, taken to be aimed at the prelates of his own time, and were accordingly expunged. If this was his interpretation, the licenser blundered oddly, for the passages certainly portray the Long Parliament and the Assembly of Divines. The current story may not perhaps do the licenser justice. According to Richardson the passages had been excised 'as being a sort of digression, and in order to avoid giving offence to a party quite subdued, and whose faults the government were then willing to have forgotten.' The licenser might expunge, but he could not destroy them. 'Milton gave a copy of the proscribed remarks to the Earl of Anglesea, which were published in 1681, with a preface declaring that they originally belonged to the third book of his history, and they are now found in their proper place¹.' Thus Milton suffered himself the degradation he mentions with such keen abhorrence in the *Areopagitica*². Amongst the many bitternesses his great heart was destined to know, in the course of his vexed life, this assuredly was not the least. Not to be counted 'fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner,' was, he held, 'the greatest

¹ See Todd's Milton's Poetical Works, i. 209, ed. 1826.

² See the passage in Prose Works, 502-504. It begins, 'Of those who swayed most in the late troubles,' &c.; and ends, 'which give us matter of this digression.'

displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him.' One may imagine the profound contempt, and also the sad anguish—one may scorn one's foes, but yet their arrows pierce us—with which, in his retired house in Artillery Walk, he would hear of the insolent scrutinies of the precious life-blood of his 'master spirit,' with whose embalming and treasuring up on purpose to a life beyond life, coarse hands were thus rudely interfering¹.

The Act of 1662 expired in 1679. It was formally renewed in 1685², and continued till 1692. In 1692 it was re-enacted for two more years. When it lapsed in 1694 it lapsed for ever, in spite of various advocacies and clamours repeated from time to time.

In his account of the final extinction in 1694 of a power so formidable and so perilous, Macaulay well points out how quietly and unobservedly it happened. When the question was put in the House of Commons 'That the House do agree with the Committee on the Resolution that the Act, entitled an Act for preventing Abuses in printing Seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed Pamphlets, and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses be continued,' 'the Speaker pronounced that the Noes had it,' and the Ayes did not think fit to divide. The Lords, indeed, proposed to continue it; but when the Commons presently set forth their objections in a paper delivered to the Lords, and these objections all related to matters of detail, being many of them what Milton would have called 'arguments of merchandize,' 'the Lords yielded without a contest.'

'The Lords yielded without a contest. They probably expected that some less objectionable bill for the regulation of the press would soon be sent up to them, and, in fact, such a bill was brought into the House of Commons, read twice, and referred to a Select Committee. But the Session closed before the Committee had reported, and English literature was emancipated, and emancipated for ever, from the control of the Government³'.

In subsequent years—in 1697, in 1703, in 1713—the subject was again mooted, for there were not wanting outside the walls of Parliament those who called upon the House to re-impose

¹ See p. 6.

² See Macaulay's Hist. of England, ii. 162, ed. 1861.

³ Ibid. vii. 169, ed. 1861.

the old restraints. Thus there appeared a Modest Plea for the Due regulation of the Press, in Answer to reasons lately printed against it, humbly submitted to the judgment of authority, by Francis Gregory, D.D., and Rector of Hambledon, in the County of Bucks : London, 1698'; 'A Letter to a Member of Parliament showing the Necessity of regulating the Press : Oxford, 1699¹'; and other similar appeals. But they were made in vain. In later times there have been some who have sighed or cried aloud for the old supervision, or, at least, have been prone to believe that the absence of it begat not so much liberty as license. Thus Hume writes of the event of 1694, projecting, it may be thought, his own views into his account of it :—

'To the great displeasure of the King and his Ministers, who seeing nowhere, in any Government during present or past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought that no books or writings would ever so much improve the general understanding of men as to render it safe to entrust them with an indulgence so easily abused.'

'And the present moment,' remarks the author of the *Curiosities of Literature*, first published 1791-1817, after quoting the above words, 'verifies the prescient conjecture of the philosopher. Such is the licentiousness of our press that some, not perhaps the most hostile to the cause of freedom, would not be averse to manacle authors once more with an Imprimatur.'

And so there will be always some who will forget, under the pressure of certain disadvantages, all the blessings that a Free Press has conferred upon us, who, in the sun, will see nothing but spots, or, in the spring time, a mere carnival of east winds. Moreover, is the abuse of a thing to be truly and permanently cured by restraining the use of it? If a man handles his sword awkwardly, so that he wounds his friends and himself rather than the enemy, will his dexterity be improved by taking his weapon from him? Or shall we not better teach him a more judicious management?

¹ The pamphlet especially referred to is 'A Letter to a Member of Parliament, showing that a restraint on the Press is inconsistent with the Protestant religion, and dangerous to the liberties of the nation.'

But, to return to the *Areopagitica*, it may appear perhaps, from the account given above of the end of Press-licensing, that Milton did little or nothing towards the achievement of it, inasmuch as the general question with which his work deals was not at all discussed when that end came. But it would be rash for this reason to conclude that Milton spent his strength for nought. It is, in fact, impossible to estimate what the influence of his discourse may have been between 1644 and 1694. The influence of a book is not to be judged so much by the quantity, as by the quality, of its readers. And one can scarcely doubt that the words of the *Arcopagitica* sank deep into the hearts of the better spirits of the time. To them it was addressed, and only to them was it fully intelligible. It could not be expected to have a large general circulation, but it was held a sovereign work in its own sphere. It was regarded as a central spring, to which others might resort.

‘Hither as to their fountain other stars
Repairing, in their urns draw golden light.’

We have noticed its influence upon Mabbott; and so in other cases we find its arguments reproduced. Thus a pamphlet called ‘A Just Vindication of Learning, or an Humble Address to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of the Liberty of the Press, by Philopatris: London, 1679,’ is neither more nor less than a mutilated copy of the *Areopagitica*. A work entitled ‘Reasons humbly offered for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, 1693,’ is simply an abridgment of it.

Nor is our estimate of the result of the *Areopagitica* to be limited by the year 1694. All that it had to teach was not finally taught when the licensing system formally ceased; nor was it then to be thrown away, like a ticket that has served its purpose. It was published separately in 1738, in 1772, in 1792, in 1819, in 1868; with the ‘Tractat of Education’ in 1780; with other tracts in 1809. Mirabeau’s tract, ‘Sur la Liberté de la Presse,’ 1788, is merely a reproduction of it. ‘Le titre de ce morceau très singulier, où j’ai suivi de beaucoup plus près mon Auteur que ne voudront le croire ceux qui ne consulteront pas l’original, et où j’ai plutôt retranché qu’ajouté; ce titre est:

*Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing; to the Parliament of England*¹.

Lastly, our judgment of what power the *Areopagitica* has exercised in the world must not confine itself to the Printing Press and its history; for the work is indeed not only a magnificent protest in behalf of unlicensed books, but an immortal defence of Free Thought. Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, Locke's *Letters on Toleration*, John Stuart Mill's *Liberty*—these are works of no temporary and transient value, however they may have been called forth by passing circumstances; and amongst these, and not the least amongst them, is to be ranked the *Areopagitica*. It is inspired by the very spirit of freedom. It is the own voice of a mind resolute to be free and fetterless, and to dare usurpation to its face.

SECTION V. THE PRESENT EDITION.

The text of the present edition is that of the original edition of 1644, with only one intentional difference, viz. *warfaring*, for *wayfaring*, on p. 18; on which see the note. It was printed in the first instance from Mr. Arber's Reprint, and then collated with the 1644 edition, of which Mr. Arber's reprint was found to be an extremely faithful reproduction, the corrections that had to be made being very few and very slight.

For the rest, I have to express great obligations to Holt White's edition of 1819, as indeed every one must who studies the *Areopagitica*. His 'Prefatory Remarks, Copious Notes, and Excursive Illustrations,' are a very storehouse of information, of which frequent mention is made in the Notes, where I have, I believe, always acknowledged any debt incurred in this and all other cases. Next in value to Holt White's volume is Mr. Lobb's 'Modern Version of Milton's Areopagitica, with Notes, Appendix, and Tables: Calcutta, 1872.' Possibly enough, if Mr. Lobb designed his work for Indian readers, he was right in translating the original into modern English; but there can scarcely be any Englishmen who would accept Mr. Lobb's

¹ See Buckle's Civilization, ii. 225.

version, however vigorously executed, in exchange for Milton's own. The notes contain much valuable matter ; it is a pity they are not made more accessible by a better arrangement. 'Milton's Areopagitica, a Commentary,' privately printed, by Mr. R. C. Jebb, the Public Orator of Cambridge, for a copy of which I have to thank the author, contains some excellent suggestions. There is also an edition by Mr. T. G. Osborn, Head Master of New Kingswood School, Bath, with some notes that are 'mainly taken from sources obvious and easily accessible and make no pretensions to original or extensive research.'

Lastly, I must do myself the pleasure of thanking my friend, Mr. Skeat, the well-known Old English scholar, for various valuable suggestions. I have also to thank for sundry kind services the Rev. G. W. Kitchin, of Christ Church, Oxford ; Professor Morley, University College, and Dr. Morris, King's College School, London ; Professor Seeley, Cambridge ; and Professor Ward, Owens College, Manchester.

I OPPIDANS ROAD, PRIMROSE HILL, LONDON :

August 1st, 1874.

In the second issue of 'the present edition' certain misprints have been corrected, one or two notes withdrawn as unnecessary, and a few additions made.

I had intended to add some remarks on the fact that Milton himself, after writing this 'discourse,' acted as a Licenser of the Press. But the urgent demand for this edition leaves no time now for this consideration.

I may just say that though I have given here the original orthography, I am by no means of opinion this should always be done in reprinting old books for school or for general use. Mr. R. C. Browne, in his well-known useful edition of Milton's English Poems, has, I do not doubt, acted judiciously in modernising the spelling. But it will be allowed that occasionally an exacter reproduction should be given ; and here is one.

Oct. 8, 1878.

This Third Edition is a mere reprint of the Second.

I had intended to consider here at some length the fact hastily mentioned in the Preface to the Second Edition—that Milton himself, after writing this ‘discourse,’ acted as a Licenser of the Press. But this fact is so fully discussed by Professor Masson in the fourth volume, pp. 324–335, and pp. 432, 433, of his exhaustive and invaluable work ‘The Life of Milton in Connexion with the History of his Time,’ that little remains to be said, or rather, if one went into the subject, one could only repeat what has been already written: therefore I will merely briefly state how the case really stood, referring the reader for an ampler account to Professor Masson’s volume.

Milton acted as a ‘Licenser of the Press,’ merely so far as this: he was for a time—from the beginning of the year 1651 to the beginning of 1652—connected as a sort of supervisor with one of the current journals published in the interest of the Commonwealth. Each one of these organs had a censor attached to it. The *Several Proceedings in Parliament* was inspected, so to speak, and allowed by Mr. Henry Scobell, the Clerk of the Parliament; *A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages of the Armies*, by Mr. John Rushworth, the Army Secretary; *A Briefe Relation of Some Affairs and Transactions*, by Mr. Gualter Frost, the General Secretary of the Council of State. And just in the same way the *Mercurius Politicus* was entrusted to the discretion of Mr. John Milton, Latin Secretary to the Council for their Letters to foreign Princes and States.

There is no sign of Milton’s acting as a Press-licenser in any other way. He was ‘often employed to report on papers or pamphlets after they were published’—to officially review them in fact; but not to authorize or license them.

It thus appears that Milton’s ‘licensing’ meant little, or nothing, more than acting as a superior—a final—editor to one of the newspapers issued by the party to which he belonged. We presume that the unfriendliest eye could scarcely discover in such a function anything irreconcilable with the views so nobly and ardently asserted in the *Areopagitica*.

KING’S COLLEGE, LONDON,

Jan. 7, 1882.

AREOPAGITICA.

AREOPAGITICA.

For the Liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parliament, or wanting such accesse in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the publick good, I suppose them, as at the beginning of no meane endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes: some with doubt of what will be the successe, others with feare of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speake. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these formost expressions now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this addresse thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface. Which though I stay not to confesse ere any aske, I shall be blamelesse, if it be no other then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their Countries liberty; whereof this whole Discourse propos'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a Trophey. For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance

ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attain'd, that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a *Roman* recovery, it will bee attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithfull guidance and undaunted Wisdome, Lords and Commons of *England*. Neither is it in Gods esteeme the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy Magistrates; which if I now first should begin to doe, after so fair a progresse of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise yee. Neverthelesse there being three principall things, without which all praising is but Courtship and flattery, First, when that only is prais'd which is solidly worth praise: next, when greatest likeli-hoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascrib'd: the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actuall perswasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not, the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium*; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserv'd opportunely to this occasion.

For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best cov'nant of his fidelity, and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising; for though I should affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisch Orders which I should name, were call'd in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your milde and equall Government, when as private persons are hereby animated to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice then other statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennall Parlament and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates and cabin Counsellours that usurpt of late, when as they shall observe yee in the midd'st of your Victories and successes more gently brooking writt'n exceptions against a voted Order then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake ostentation of wealth, would have endur'd the least signifi'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus farre presume upon the meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatnessse, Lords and Commons, as what your publisch Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend my selfe with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece then the barbarick pride of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* state-lines. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Gothes* and *Jutlanders*,

I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parlament of *Athens*, that perswades them to change the forme of *Democracy* which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those 5 dayes to men who profeſt the ſtudy of wiſdome and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Siñories heard them gladly and with great respect, if they had ought in publick to admoniſh the State. Thus did *Dion Prusaeus* a ſtranger 10 and a privat Orator counſell the *Rhodians* againſt a former Edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to ſet heer would be ſuperfluouſ. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to ſtudious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worſt for 15 two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, ſo much muſt be derogated as to count me not equall to any of those who had this priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not ſo inferior as your ſelves are ſuperior to the moſt of them who receiv'd their counſell: and how farre you 20 excell them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear then when your prudent ſpirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reaſon from what quarter ſoever it be heard ſpeaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own ſetting forth 25 as any ſet forth by your Predeceſſors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what ſhould withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to ſhew both that love of truth which ye eminently profesſe, and that 30 uprightneſſe of your judgement which is not wont to be partiall to your ſelves, by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd to regulate *Printing*: *That no Book, pamphlet, or paper ſhall be henceforth Printed,*

unless the same be first approv'd and licenc't by such, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed. For that part which preserves justly every mans Copy to himselfe, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretenses to abuse and persecute honest and painfull Men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadragesimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it to bee those whom ye will be loath to own ; next what is to be thought in generall of reading, what ever sort the Books be ; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be supprest ; last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by the disexcising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the discovery that might bee yet further made both in religious and civill Wisdome.

I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men ; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors : For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are ; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.

I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth ; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And

yet on the other hand, unlesse wariness be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book ; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image ; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth ; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse ; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books ; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of reason it selfe, slaiers an immortality rather then a life. But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing, I refuse not the paines to be so much Historicall as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out of the *Inquisition*, was catcht up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

In *Athens* where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of *Greece*, I finde but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of : those either blasphemous and Atheisticall, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the

Judges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt, and himself banisht the territory, for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know *whether there were gods, or whether not*: And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comoedia*, whereby we may guesse how they censur'd libelling: And this course was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd. Of other sects and opinions though tending to voluptuousnesse and the denying of divine providence they tooke no heed. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*, or that libertine school of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd, was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comedians were supprest, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Aristophanes* the loosest of them all to his royll scholler *Dionysius*, is commonly known, and may be excus'd, if holy *Chrysostome*, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedaemon*, considering that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was so addicted to elegant learning as to have been the first that brought out of *Ionia* the scatter'd workes of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from *Creet* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wonder'd how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them, for they dislik'd all but their owne *Laconick Apo-*

thegms, and took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of their City, perhaps for composing in a higher straine then their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to; Or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence *Euripides* affirmes in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste. Thus much may give us light after what sort Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, resembling most of the *Lacedaemonian* guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables, and the *Pontifick* College with their *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other learning that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus* with the *Stoick* *Diogenes*, comming Embassadors to Rome, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their Philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no lesse a man then *Cato* the Censor, who mov'd it in the Senat to dismisse them speedily, and to banish all such *Attick* bablers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old *Sabin* austerity; honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before hee was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time *Naevius* and *Plautus* the first Latine comedians had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be don to libellous books and Authors; for *Naevius* was quickly cast into prison for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his recantation; We read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punisht by *Augustus*. The like severity no

doubt was us'd if ought were impiously writt'n against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in Books, the Magistrat kept no reckning. And therefore *Lucretius* without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by *Cicero* so great a father of the Commonwealth; although himselfe disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the Satyricall sharpnesse, or naked plainnes of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any order prohibited. And for matters of State, the story of *Titius Livius*, though it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held, was not therefore supprest by *Octavius Caesar* of the other Faction. But that *Naso* was by him banisht in his old age for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret cause; and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell if not so often bad as good Books were silenc't. I shall therefore deem to have bin large anough in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperours were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more severe then what was formerly in practice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by autority of the Emperor. As for the writings of Heathen authors, unlesse they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be

cited till about the year 400 in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd more 5 the Books of Hereticks then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no furder, but leaving it to each ones conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observ'd already by 10 *Padre Paolo* the great unmasker of the *Trentine* Council. After which time the Popes of *Rome*, engrossing what they pleas'd of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgements, burning and prohibiting 15 to be read what they fansied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with; till *Martin* the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of hereticall Books; for about that time *Wicklef* and *Husse* 20 growing terrible were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10 and his successors follow'd, untill the Coun- 25 cell of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition engendring together brought forth or perfeted those Catalogues and expurging Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters Hereticall, but any subject that was not to their palat they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or 30 had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, pamphlet, or paper should be Printed (as if *S. Peter* had bequeath'd them

the keys of the Presse also out of Paradise) unlesse it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example:

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to see if in this present work be contain'd ought that may withstand the Printing,

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of *Florence*.

I have seen this present work, and finde nothing athwart the Catholick faith and good manners; In witnesse whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of *Florence*.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allow'd that this present work of *Davanzati* may be Printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

15 It may be Printed, *July 15.*

Friar *Simon Mompei d'Amelia* Chancellor of the holy office in *Florence*.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomlesse pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism 20 would barre him down. I feare their next designe will be to get into their custody the licencing of that which they say ¹ *Claudius* intended, but went not through with. Voutsafe to see another of their forms the Roman stamp:

15 *Imprimatur*, If it seem good to the reverend Master of the holy Palace,

Belcastro, Viceregent.

Imprimatur,

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi* Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes 5 *Imprimaturs* are seen together dialoguewise in

¹ Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. Sueton. in Claudio.

the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n reverences, whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shall to the Presse or to the sponge. These are 5 the prety responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewitcht of late our Prelats and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from Lambeth house, another from the West end of *Pauls*; so apishly 10 Romanizing that the word of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latine; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; 15 but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and formost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption English. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall of Book-licencing ript 20 up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or politie, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Ancestors, elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed Citty, or Church abroad; but from the 25 most Antichristian Councel, and the most tyrannous Inquisition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stiff'd then the issue of the womb; no envious *Juno* sate cros-leg'd 30 over the nativity of any mans intellectual off-spring; but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the Sea. But that a Book, in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to

stand before a Jury ere it be borne to the World, and undergo yet in darkness the judgement of *Radamanth* and his Colleagues, ere it can passe the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbo's and new hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsell so officiously snatcht up and so ilfavourdly imitated by our inquisituirient Bishops and the attendant minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain Authors of this licencing order, and that all sinister intention was farre distant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily.

But some will say, what though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest Commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who tooke it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation, I am of those who beleeve it will be a harder alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew, to sublimat any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, untill I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish as was propounded, what is to be thought in generall of reading Books, what ever sort

they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of *Moses*, *Daniel* and *Paul*, who were skilfull in all the learning of the *Ægyptians*, *Caldeans*, and *Greeks*, which could not probably be without reading their Books of all sorts, in *Paul* especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets and one of them a Tragedian, the question 10 was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apostat and subtlest enemy to our faith made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning; for, said he, 15 they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two *Apollinarii* were fain as a man may say to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Christian Grammar. But saith the Historian *Socrates*: 20

The providence of God provided better then the industry of Apollinarius and his son by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of Hellenick learning; and thought it a persecution more 25
undermining and secretly decaying the Church then the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian. And perhaps it was the same politick drift that the Divell whipt St. Jerom in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a

fantasm bred by the feaver which had then seis'd him. For had an Angel bin his discipliner, unlesse it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly 5 partiall, first, to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for scurrill *Plautus* whom he confesses to have bin reading not long before, next, to correct him only, and let so many more ancient Fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tating apparition; insomuch that *Basil* teaches how some good use may be made of *Margites* a sportfull Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante* an Italian Romanze much to the same purpose? But if it be agreed we shall be try'd by 15 visions, there is a vision recorded by *Eusebius* far ancienter then this tale of *Jerom* to the nun *Eustochium*, and besides has nothing of a feavor in it. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was about the year 240 a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had 0 wont to avail himself much against hereticks by being conversant in their Books; untill a certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himselfe among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God, it is his own Epistle that so averrs it, confirm'd him in these words: Read any books what ever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. And he might have added

another remarkable saying of the same Author: To the pure all things are pure, not only meats and drinks, but all kinde of knowledge whether of good or evill; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, ⁵ if the will and conscience be not defil'd. For books are as meats and viands are, some of good, some of evill substance; and yet God in that unapocryphall vision said without exception, *Rise Peter, kill and eat,* leaving the choice to each mans discretion. Whole-¹⁰ some meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evill. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, ¹⁵ that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Wheroft what better witnes can ye expect I should produce then one of your own now sittng in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in ²⁰ this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whose volume of naturall and national laws proves, not only by great autorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main ser-²⁵vice and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the universall diet of mans body, saving ever the rules of temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; ³⁰ as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! yet God committs the managing so great a

trust, without particular Law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of Manna is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions, which enter into a man rather then issue out of him and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivat under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion shew¹ grow so fast upon those things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the flesh; but neither he nor other inspir'd author tells us that such or such reading is unlawfull: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had bin much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull then what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. *Pauls* converts, tis reply'd the books were magick, the Syriack so renders them. It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation; the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed; these men practiz'd the books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds, which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull

¹ Read 'should.'

out and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is
5 that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evill, that is to say of knowing good by evill. As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdome can there be to choose, what continence to forbeare without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend
10 and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring¹ Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd virtue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies
15 out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is
20 contrary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse; Which was the reason
25 why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, describing true temperance under the person of *Guion*, brings him in with his palmer through the
30 cave of Mammon and the bowr of earthly blisse, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human vertue, and

¹ Read 'warfaring'? See note.

the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely and with lesse danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of tractats, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckn'd: First, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human learning and controversie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible it selfe; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against providence through all the arguments of *Epicurus*: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudest what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that *Moses* and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible it selfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as *Clement of Alexandria*, and that *Eusebian* book of Evangelick preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that *Irenaeus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others discover more heresies then they well confute, and that oft for heresie which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able and most

diligent to instill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom *Harry* the 8. nam'd in meriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreine books can infuse will finde a 10 passage to the people farre easier and shorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of *Catalao* Eastward or of *Canada* Westward, while our Spanish licencing gags the English presse never so severely. But on the other side, that infection which is 15 from books of controversie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned then to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licencer. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc't by Papisticall book in English, 20 unlesse it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy; and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophesie of *Isaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be *understood without a guide*. But of our Priests and Doctors how many have bin corrupted 25 by studying the comments of Jesuits and *Sorbonists*, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot since the acute and distinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the perusing of a namelesse discours 30 writt'n at *Delf*, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be supprest without the fall of learning

and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people what ever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also doe without writing and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold how this cautelous enterprise of licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books and dispredders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptednesse? And again if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdome, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactnesse always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgement of *Aristotle* not only but of *Salomon* and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books, as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet then a fool will do of

sacred Scripture. 'Tis next alleg'd we must not expose our selves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds
5 already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but usefull drugs and materialls wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The rest, as
10 children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working mineralls, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licencing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next:
That this order of licencing conduces nothing to the end
15 for which it was fram'd; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster then the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was
20 the task which I began with, To shew that no Nation, or well instituted State, if they valu'd books at all, did ever use this way of licencing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd; To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think
25 on, so if it had bin difficult to finde out, there wanted not among them long since who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it.
30 *Plato*, a man of high autority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who other-

wise admire him wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the *genial* cups of an *Academick* night-sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it and allow'd it; But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrats, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of *Sophron Mimus* and *Aristophanes*, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionysius*, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licencing of Poems had reference and dependence to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and so neither he himself, nor any Magistrat, or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from those other collaterall injunctions must needs be vain and fruitlesse. For if they fell upon one kind of strictnesse, unlesse their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour: to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners,

we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*. There must be licencing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was provided of. It will ask more then the work of twenty licensers to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on; there are shrewd books with dangerous Frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them? shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck reads, ev'n to the ballatry and the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler, for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*. Next, what more Nationall corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, then houshold gluttony? who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunk'nes is sold and harbour'd? Our garments also should be referr'd to the licencing of some more sober work-masters to see them cut into a lesse wanton garb. Who shall regulat all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this Country? who shall still appoint what shall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no furder? Lastly, who shall forbid and separat all idle resort, all evill company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be lest hurtfull, how lest enticing,

herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midd'st whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* licencing of books will doe this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, which *Plato* there mentions as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licencing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissenes, for certain, are the bane of a Commonwealth; but here the great art lyes to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance and prescription and compulsion, what were vertue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be sober, just, or continent? Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgresse. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificiall *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience or love or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Where-

fore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagin to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all in such a universall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains ¹⁰ entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewell left: ye cannot bereave him of his covetousnesse. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them ¹⁵ chaste that came not thither so; such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expell sin by this means; look how much we thus expell of sin, so much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove ²⁰ that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. ²⁵ Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the triall of vertue and the exercise of truth? It would be better done to learn that the law must needs ³⁰ be frivilous which goes to restrain things uncertainly and yet equally working to good and to evill. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance

of evill-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person more then the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit what ever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing ; may be fitly call'd our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly that continu'd Court-
libell against the Parliament and City, Printed, as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers't among us for all that licencing can doe? yet this is the prime service a man would think, whrein this order should give proof of it self. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if
15 execution be remisse or blindfold now and in this particular, what will it be hereafter and in other books? If then the order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons: ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc't books already
20 printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemn'd and which not; and ordain that no forrein books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers,
25 and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly usefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when
30 the multitude of books encrease upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation of their whole suspected *typography*. In a word, that

this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye should condiscend to this, which God forbid, the 5 order still would be but fruitlesse and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixt for 10 many ages only by unwritt'n traditions. The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over *Asia*, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those 15 places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will misse the end it seeks, consider by the quality 20 which ought to be in every licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of books, whether they may be wafted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common measure both studious, learned, and judicious; there 25 may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journey-work, a greater losse of time levied upon his head, then to be made the 30 perpetuall reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unlesse at certain seasons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible,

whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition which I cannot beleeve how he that values time and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostrill, should be able to endure. In this 5 one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardon'd for so thinking; who doublesse¹ took this office up looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short triall 10 hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to sollicit their licence, are testimony anough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the imployment, by all evident signs wish themselves well ridd of it, and that no man 15 of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Presse-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or 20 basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offer'd to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities and distribute more equally Church revenu's, that then all learning would be for ever dasht and dis- 25 courag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the Clergy; nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and

¹ Read 'doubtlesse.'

unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love lerning for it self, not for lucre or any other end but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgement and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a scism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*? if serious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licencer? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditats, is industrious, and likely consults and conferrs with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes as well as any that writ before him; if in this

the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian* oyl, to the hasty view of an unleasur'd licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst or slighted, must appear in Print like a punie with his guardian and his censors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the author, to the book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning.

15 And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancie as to have many things well worth the adding come into his mind after licencing, while the book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in 20 one book? The Printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at 25 leisure; mean while either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author loose his accuratest thoughts and send the book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a 30 man teach with autority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction

of his patriarchal licencer to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement; when every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be ready with these like 5 words to ding the book a coits distance from him: I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instrcter that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist; I know nothing of the licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State Sir, replies the Stationer; but has a quick return, The State shall be my governours, but not my criticks; they may be mistak'n in the choice of a licencer as easily as this licencer may be mistak'n in an author: This is some common stuffe; and he might 15 adde from Sir *Francis Bacon*, That *such authoriz'd books are but the language of the times*. For though a licencer should happ'n to be judicious more then ordnary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoyns him to let passe 20 nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life time and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be Printed or Reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence 25 of a ventrous edge, utter'd in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were *Knox* himself the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it, they will not pardon him 30 their dash; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness or the presumptuous rashnesse of a perfunctory licencer. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what

book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have autority to knaw out the choisest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that haples race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common stedfast dunce will be the only pleasant life and only in request.

15 And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the 20 grave and solid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever; much lesse that it should not passe except their superintendance be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant 25 without their manuall stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad 30 cloath and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing

forges. Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, 5 that he should never henceforth write but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to passe his credit for him that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended lesse then a disgracefull punishment. Whence to include the 10 whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectfull prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books 15 must not stirre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people lesse then a reproach; for if we so jealous over them as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people, 20 in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licencer? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the Laity are most hated and despis'd the same strictnes 25 is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our 30 Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them: then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continuall preaching, they should

be still frequented with such an unprincip'l'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiffe of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of thir catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a licencer; that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers and such volumes as have now well-nigh made all other books unsalable, should not be armor anough against one single *enchoridion*, without the castle St. Angelo of an *Imprimatur*.

And lest som should perswade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of lerned mens discouragement at this your order, are meer flourishes and not reall, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyran-nizes; when I have sat among their lerned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of *Philosophic* freedom as they suppos'd England was, while themselvs did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which lerning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a prisner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelaticall yoke, nevertheless I tooke it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her

liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish.

5 When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among lerned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as lerned men at home utter'd in time of Parliament against an order of licencing;

10 and that so generally, that when I disclos'd my self a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest *quaestorship* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd against *Verres* then the favourable opinion which I had

15 among many who honour ye and are known and respeted by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon lerning.

20 That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in their

25 name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again and licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selvs, and so suspiciois of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know

30 what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please, it cannot be guest what is intended by som but a second

tyranny over learning ; and will soon put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evills of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributedivly charg'd upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large dioces of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mysticall pluralist. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, shall now at home in his privat chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and 15 abiest authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covenants and Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy; this is but to translate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another; 20 this is but an old canonicall slight of *commuting* our penance. To startle thus betimes at a meer unlicenc't pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State 25 govern'd by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrain'd by a discipline imitated 30 from the Prelats and learnt by them from the Inquisition, to shut us up all again into the brest of a licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern

the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers: that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open; it was the people's birthright and priviledge in time of Parlament, it was the breaking 5 forth of light? But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopall arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oyle, liberty 10 of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullify'd, and which is wors, the freedom of learning must groan again and to her old fetters, all this the Parlament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and 15 defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation. *The punishing of 20 wits enhaunces their autority*, saith the Vicount St. Albans, *and a forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seeke to tread it out.* This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step- 25 dame to Truth: and first by disinabling us to the main- tenance of what is known already:

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a 30 streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a per- petuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretick in the truth; and if he beleieve things only because his

Pastor sayes so, or the Assembly so determins, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladier post off to another
5 then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be, of Protestants and professors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds Religion to be a traffick
10 so entangl'd and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What shoulde he doe? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore but
15 resolvs to give over toyling, and to find himself out som factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religous affairs, som Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole ware-house of his religion with
20 all the locks and keyes into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is be-
25 com a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, praines, is liberally supt, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted,
30 and after the malmsey, or some well spic't bruage, and better breakfasted then he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Jerusalem*, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his

kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be who when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and setl'd, nothing writt'n but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n truth, will strait give themselvs up into your hands, mak'em and cut'em out what religion ye please. There be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have tak'n so strictly and so unalterably into their own pourveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wisht were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? Doubtles a stanch and solid peece of framework as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n among the Clergy themselvs. It is no new thing never heard of before for a *parochiall* Minister, who has his reward and is at his *Hercules* pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English concordance and a *topic folio*, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduatship, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinall heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks and means, out of which as out of an alphabet or sol fa by forming and transforming, joyning and disjoyning variously a little book-craft, and two hours meditation might furnish him

unspeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of sermoning, not to reck'n up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. *Thomas* in his vestry, and adde to boot St. *Martin*, and St. *Hugh*, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made; so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back dore be not secur'd by the rigid licencer, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their 15 trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinells about his receiv'd opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduc't, who also then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And God fend that the fear of this diligence which must then be us'd, doe not make us affect the lazines of a licencing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and doe not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, 30 shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound? Christ

urg'd it as wherewith to justifie himself, that he preacht in publick ; yet writing is more publick then preaching, and more easie to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose businesse and profession meerly it is, to be 5 the champions of Truth ; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability ?

Thus much we are hinder'd and dis-inur'd by this cours of licencing towards the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders 10 the licensers themselves in the calling of their Ministry, more then any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own con- 15 science, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse and detriment that this plot of licencing puts us to. More then if som enemy at sea should stop up all our hav'n's and ports and creeks, it hinders 20 and retards the importation of our richest Marchandize, Truth; nay, it was first establisht and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood, little differing from that policie 25 wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran* by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confess't, we are to send our thanks and vows to heav'n louder then most of Nations for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between 30 us and the Pope with his appertinences the Prelats ; but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attain'd the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortalle glasse wherein we contemplate can shew us, till

we come to *beatific* vision, that man by this very opinion declares that he is yet farre short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on ; but when he ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the *Ægyptian Typhon* with his conspirators how they dealt with the good *Osiris*, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces, and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second comming ; he shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licencing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boast our light ; but if we look not wisely on the Sun it self, it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft *Combust*, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evning or morning ? The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the

removing him from off the *Presbyterian* shoulders that will make us a happy Nation; no, if other things as great in the Church and in the rule of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd, we have 5 lookt so long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which 10 causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes nor can convince; yet all must be supprest which is not found in their *Syntagma*. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissever'd peeces which are 15 yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneal*, and proportionall), this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetick*, and makes up the 20 best harmony in a Church, not the forc't and outward union of cold and neutrall and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are and wherof ye are the governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, 25 ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest Sciences have bin so ancient and so eminent among us, that 30 Writers of good antiquity and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of *Pythagoras* and the *Persian* wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civill Roman,

Julius Agricola, who govern'd once here for *Caesar*, prefer'd the naturall wits of Britain before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Transilvanian* sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of *Russia* and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes, not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heav'n, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ?* And had it not bin the obstinat peruersnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wicklef*, to suppresse him as a schismatic and *innovator*, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Husse* and *Jerom*, no, nor the name of *Luther* or of *Calvin* had bin ever known; the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest Schollers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs and by the generall instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation it self. What does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his English-men; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels and are unworthy? Behold now this vast City: a City of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompast and

surrounded with his protection ; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and
5 heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation, others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction.
10 What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge ? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile but wise and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies ? We
15 reck'n more then five months yet to harvest ; there need not be five weeks ; had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions ; for opinion in good men is but know-
20 ledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this City. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious for-
25 wardnes among men, to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity might win all these diligences to joyn and unite in one generall and brotherly search
30 after Truth, could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise

to discern the mould and temper of a people and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Roman docility and courage: If such were my *Epirots*, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismaticks and sectaries; as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrationall men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every peece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this: that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spirituall architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in heav'n rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodnessse, as *Joshua* then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony, lest those divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The

adversarie again applauds, and waits the hour; when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small anough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow
5 though into branches; nor will beware untill hee see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps
10 though over timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me:

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inrodes and
15 incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd,
20 should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discourst or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentednesse and confidence in your prudent foresight and safe government, Lords and Com-
25 mons; and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that peece
30 of ground at no cheap rate, whereon *Hanibal* himself encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cherfull presage of our happy successe and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits

pure and vigorous not only to vital but to rationall faculties and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and suttle, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cher-
5 fulnesse of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversie and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a
10 fatall decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prosperous vertue destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a
15 noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unscaleing her long abused
20 sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms.

25 What should ye doe then, should ye suppresse all this flowry crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this City, should ye set an *Oligarchy* of twenty ingrossers over it, to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing
30 but what is measur'd to us by their bushel? Beleeve it, Lords¹ and Commons, they who counsell ye to such
2 suppressing doe as good as bid ye suppresse your-

¹ 'Lord,' ed. of 1644.

selves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer then your own mild and free and human government; it
5 is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchast us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlightn'd our spirits like the influence of heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd
10 and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now lesse capable, lesse knowing, lesse eagerly pursuing of the truth, unlesse ye first make your selves, that made us so, lesse the lovers, lesse the founders of our true liberty. We can
15 grow ignorant again, brutish, formall, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more
20 erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your owne vertu propagated in us; ye cannot suppresse that unlesse ye reinforce an abrogated and mercilesse law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then
25 sticke closest to ye, and excite others? Not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunitiess, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue
30 freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequall to suppresse opinions for the newnes or the unsutablenes to a customary acceptance,

will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, 5 we had not now mist and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and 10 schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot 15 call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be mis-call'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of Gods Ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience 20 gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves. The book it self will tell us more at large being publisht to the world and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be 25 not laid by without perusall.

And now the time in speciall is by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Janus* with his two *controversal* faces might now not unsignifi- 30 cantly be set open. And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and

Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worts in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it come not first in at their case-
ments. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, *to seek for wisdom as for hid'dn treasures* early and late, that another order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute! When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battell raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger should passe, though it be valour anough in shouldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, no stratagems, nor licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power. 'Give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound; but then rather she turns herself into all shapes except her own, and

perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before Ahab, untill she be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes then one. What else is all that rank
5 of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side or on the other without being unlike her self? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of *those ordinances*, that *hand writing nayl'd to the crosse*, what great purchase is this Christian liberty which *Paul* so
10 often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may doe either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our
15 hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another,
20 though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to suppresse, and our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all.
25 We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and stubble* forc't and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degener-
30 rating of a Church then many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and precious stones*; it is not possible for man

to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other frie; that must be the Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more 5 wholsome, more prudent, and more Christian: that many be tolerated rather than all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, which as it extirpats all religions and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable 10 and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and misled; that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or maners no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it self; but those neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, 15 are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the unity of Spirit*, if we could but find among us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpfull hand to the 20 slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him before others, or but seem'd at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to doe so worthy a deed? And not consider this, that if it come 25 to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then truth it self; whose first appearance to our eyes blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpleasible then many errors, ev'n as the person is of many a great man slight and 30 contemptible to see to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the

chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us? Besides yet a greater danger which is in it: for when God shakes a Kingdome with strong and healthfull commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities and more then common industry not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain furder and goe on some new enlightn'd steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of Gods enlightning his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote our selves again to set places and assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd, is not sufficient, without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though *Harry* the 7. himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismaticks, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we doe not

give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberall and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own, seeing no man who hath tasted 5 learning, but will confesse the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receits are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world? And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may serve to polish 10 and brighten the armoury of Truth, ev'n for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the speciaall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests nor among the 15 Pharisees, and we in the hast of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly fore-judge them ere we understand them, no lesse then woe to us, while, thinking 20 thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

There have bin not a few since the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by their unlicenc't books to the contempt of an *Imprimatur* first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and 25 taught the people to see day. I hope that none of those were the perswaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that *Moses* gave to young *Joshua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour 30 gave to young *John*, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicenc't, be not anough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what

evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licenc-
ing, and what good they themselves have begun by trans-
gressing it, be not anough, but that they will perswade
and execute the most *Dominican* part of the Inquisition
over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so
active at suppressing, it would be no unequall distribu-
tion in the first place to suppresse the suppressors them-
selves; whom the change of their condition hath puf-
up more then their late experience of harder times hath
made wise.

And as for regulating the Presse, let no man think to
have the honour of advising ye better then your selves
have done in that Order publisht next before this: that
no book be Printed, unlesse the Printers and the Authors
name, or at least the Printers be register'd. Those which
otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and
libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the time-
liest and the most effectuall remedy, that mans prevention
can use. For this *authentic* Spanish policy of licencing
books, if I have said ought, will prove the most unlicenc't
book it self within a short while; and was the immediat
image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpose made
in those very times when that Court did the rest of those
her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the
Starres with *Lucifer*. Whereby ye may guesse what kinde
of State prudence, what love of the people, what care
of Religion, or good manners there was at the con-
triving, although with singular hypocrisie it pretended to
bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got
the upper hand of your precedent Order so well con-
stituted before, if we may beleeve those men whose
profession gives them cause to enquire most, it may be
doubted there was in it the fraud of some old *patentees*

and *monopolizers* in the trade of book-selling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his severall copy, which God forbid should be gainsaid, brought divers glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who doe not therefore labour in an honest profession to which learning is indettet, that they should be made other ~~to~~ mens vassals. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I skill not. This I know, that errois in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be mis-inform'd, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduc't into the power of a few? But to redresse willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest autority to esteem a plain advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) answerable to Your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatest and wisest men.

N O T E S.

NOTES.

Page 1. Observe that the Speech opens with what the Greek grammarians called an 'anacoluthon,' = a syntactical 'non sequitur' or incoherence. The sense is plain enough; only the grammatical letter is violated. Such carelessnesses are common in Milton's prose writings, as in Clarendon's and others of the seventeenth century, till Dryden introduced a more correct style. With the instance in the text compare such Latin and Greek uses of the nominative as in Virgil, *Aeneid*, xii. 161, &c.; of the accusative in Sophocles, *Antigone* 21, &c.; and Thucydides' use of the dative, as in v. 111, *πολλοῖς γὰρ προρωμένοις κ.τ.λ.*

Line 1. *They who to States, &c.*, i. e. (i) orators, and (ii) writers.

States = heads of states. Holt White quotes from Milton's translation of Psalm lxxxii:

‘God in the great assembly stands
Of kings and lordly *States*.’

Also from Sidney's *Arcadia*: ‘I can do nothing without all the *States* of Arcadia; what they will determine I know not,’ &c. Compare how the names of their kingdoms are used to denote the kings themselves; as e. g. in King Lear *France* = King of France, &c.

3. *wanting*, not = wishing for, or needing, but being without. See below, p. 102.

in a private condition. These words explain how ‘access’ is ‘wanted’ = as being private men.

6. *alter'd* = changed, perturbed. *Alter* is literally to make other or different.

7. *success* = issue. The word was by no means confined in Milton's time to a favourable sense. Thus *Paradise Regained*, iv. 1 :

‘Perplex'd and troubled at his *bad success*,
The tempter stood.’

8. *censure* = opinion. This word in Milton's time was not limited to denote only unfavourable judgment. See *Shakspere passim*; as *Hamlet*, i. 3. 69: ‘Take each man's *censure*, but reserve thy judgment.’

of what, &c. = born of, springing from, based on what.

as the subject was, &c. This speech was published in November, 1644; see Introduction. The works that had preceded it were, *Of Reformation in England*, *Prelatical Episcopacy*, *Reason of Church Government*, *Animadversions*, &c., all published in 1641; *Apology for Smectymnuus* in 1642. The *Tractate on Education*, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and *Martin Bucer's Judgment* were published in the same year with the *Areopagitica*.

12. *likely*. This adverb is still retained in Lowland Scotch, and in the phrase *most likely*.

[*might disclose*. What is the grammatical subject to *might disclose*?]

13. *formost*. See Morris's English Accidence, § 123.

16. *to a passion* = into a state of intense feeling, of excitement and enthusiasm. Milton is often 'carried away'—'rapt'—by his subject in this splendid work.

then = our *than*. See Morris's English Accidence, § 312.

[17. Explain *incidentall* to a *Preface*.]

18. *though I stay not*, &c. = though I confess at once.

it = to wish and promote their countries liberty.

22. *a certain testimony, if not a Trophe*. It will show how ready I am to fight for my country, whether I conquer or not. In this particular cause he was not to conquer for some fifty years. The Areopagitica became a 'trophy' as well as a 'testimony' in 1694. See Introduction.

P. 2, l. 5. *to which*, &c. Milton had not yet perhaps fully discovered the disheartening fact that the Presbyterian party when in power was to show itself as little capable of an enlightened tolerance as the Episcopalians whom they had overthrown—that 'new foes' were arising

'Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains,'
and re-enthral 'free conscience'—that, really as well as etymologically,
'New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large.'

are . . . arrived. A more accurate phrase than our *have arrived*.

7. *and yet from such a steep disadvantage*, &c. We were so sunken that our rising again might well have seemed hopeless and impossible, as was the rising again of the Romans after their decline and fall, all whose 'manhood' (= Lat. *virtus*, manliness, valour) could not recover them; and yet we have recovered ourselves.

[13. *Neither is it*, &c. Explain *it* here.]

15. *which if I now first*, &c. His Of Reformation in England, for instance, is filled with delight at what he was witnessing, and praise of those who were accomplishing it. See also An Apology for Smeectymnuus, *passim*.

19. *unwillingest*. See below, p. 93.

22. *courtship*. See Comus, 321–5:

'Shepherd, I take thy word,
And trust thy honest offer'd courtesy,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds
With smoky rafters, than in tap'stry halls
And courts of princes, where it first was named
And yet is most pretended.'

The word *court* is itself of humble origin—from Lat. *cohoretum* = a farm-yard; see Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd Series.

25. *the other* here denotes the third of the 'three principal things' = what is called *the latter* just below. So sometimes in Elizabethan English *both*, the conjunction, is used when more than two objects are linked together; so

also *neither*. This use of *other* is the more odd, because it is in fact the native word for *second*. *Second* is a French word.

28. *heretofore*. See especially *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, and *An Apology for Smectymnuus*.

29. *rescuing, &c.* See *An Apology for Smectymnuus*; especially Sect. viii. p. 89, Of Works: 'And can this private concoctor of malecontent at the very instant when he pretends to extol the parliament, afford thus to blur over rather than to mention that public triumph of their justice and constancy, so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted commonwealth, with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as to call it "some proceedings"? [He is dealing with Hall's remarks on the execution of Strafford.] And yet immediately he falls to glossing, as if he were the only man that rejoiced at these times. But I shall discover to ye, readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and scholastic foppery as his meaning he himself discovers to be full of close malignity. His first encomium is,' &c. &c. For another eulogy of the Long Parliament see *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*: 'And having now perfected a second edition, I referred the judging thereof to your high and impartial sentence, honoured lords and commons. For I was confident, if anything generous, anything noble and above the multitude were left yet in the spirit of Engiland, it could be nowhere sooner found, and nowhere sooner understood than in that house of justice and true liberty where ye sit in council.'

him who went about, &c. = Hall, Bishop of Norwich, 'the Remonstrant,' who had answered *Smectymnuus*, and in his answer had 'damned' the Parliament 'with faint praise,' as Milton thought; see above. See Hall's *Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libel intituled Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*. Milton calls the praise Hall confers '*trivial*, since it deals in commonplaces; *malignant* (disloyal to the Commonwealth), since it assumes that the Parliament is inseparable from the Crown.' (Jebb.) Hall was of no mean note in literature, quite apart from the *Smectymnuus* controversy, in which he was so mercilessly derided. He was one of our earliest writers of formal satire; his *Virgidemiae* was first published in 1597-9; but his prose is better than his verse. His *Occasional Meditations* enjoyed and deserved a wide popularity. He was born at Bristow Park, Leicestershire; died at Heigham, whither he retired after his deposition from his bishopric, in 1656.

went about to, &c. = found and took the way to, set himself to. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. i: 'He that goeth about to persuade a multitude,' &c.

P. 3, l. 3. *ye*. 'The confusion between *ye* and *you* did not exist in Old English. *Ye* was always used as a nom., and *you* as a dat. or acc. In the English Bible this distinction is very carefully observed, but in the dramatists of the Elizabethan period there is a very loose use of the two forms. Not only is *you* used as a nom., but *ye* is used as an acc.' Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, § 155.

11. *equall* = fair, equitable; Lat. *aequus*; Ezek. xxxiii. 20. Cp. *unequall*, below, p. 50.

12. *when as*. Cp. *whereas*, *whenso*, *whereso*, *whoso*, &c. *As* (= al so = all so) and so may have been affixed to certain relative words to give greater precision of meaning; thus *whereas* = just where, *whenas* = just when. Comp. Gr. δῆ as in ἐπειδή, &c.

14. *statists* = statesmen. Johnson quotes Shakspere, *Cymb.* ii. 4. 17, and *Par. Reg.* iv. 354 (where see Jerram's note):

Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence, *statists* indeed
And lovers of their country.'

See also *Hamlet*, v. 2. 33.

16. *a triennial Parliament*. It was provided by the Act passed Feb. 15, 1641, 'for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments' (16 Car. I. c. i), that *Parliament should meet at least once in three years, &c.* This Act was repealed in 1664 (16 Car. II. c. i). It must not be confounded with what is called 'the Triennial Bill,' passed in 1694, repealed in 1716, which enacted that *no Parliament should in future sit more than three years*.

17. *that jealous hautinesse, &c.* He refers generally to those infamous courts, the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission; and more particularly to the Committee of Council, or Committee of State, 'which was reproachfully after called the Junto, and enviously then in the Court the Cabinet.' (Clarendon.) Cp. 'the politic Cabin at Whitehall.' (Eikonoklastes.)

cabin Counsellors. The diminutive form *cabinet*, which we now prefer, is also found in Elizabethan writers; thus Bacon's Essays, Of Counsell: 'The doctrine of Italy and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* councils.' *Cabin* is the Fr. *cabane*, the Low Lat. *capanna*, which is perhaps of Keltic origin; see Brachet, Diez, Wedgwood. Brachet quotes from Isidore of Seville: 'Tugurium parva casa est; hoc rustici *capanna* vocant.'

[19. *in the midd'st of your victories and successes. Make a list of these.*]

20. *brooking*. This *brook* is from the Oldest Eng. *brūcan*, cognate with Germ. *brauchen*, Lat. *fruor*, *fructus*, &c. It occurs in the sense of 'enjoy' in the older version of *Chevy Chase*, l. 129:

'But, perse, and I *brook* my lyffe, thy deth well quyte shall be.'

See Skeat's Specimens from 1394 to 1579, p. 74; also Morris's *Chaucer's Prologue, Glossary*. *Brook*, a streamlet, is cognate with *break*, &c.

25. *civill* = refined, polished, cultivated. So *civility* = civilisation; thus Davies on Ireland, *apud* Johnson: 'Divers great monarchies have risen from barbarism to *civility*, and fallen again to ruin.' See Jerram's *Par. Reg.* iv. 83.

28. *of being new or insolent* = of doing anything that seems strange or overweening. Or *insolent* may have its older meaning of 'unusual,' 'extraordinary'; see Trench's *Select Glossary*.

30. *the old and elegant humanity of Greece.* Perhaps no one—at least no modern—has ever studied the Greek writers with intenser appreciation and delight than Milton. See his Letter to Leonard Philaras the Athenian (1654): 'I have always been devotedly attached to the literature of Greece, and particularly to that of your Athens.' See his works *passim*. The Areopagitica itself is an illustration: scarcely more notable even in point of form is the Samson Agonistes. In the medieval universities the term 'humanity' was used especially of Latin culture, as still in Scotland. Greek culture was a comparatively new, and still a rare thing in the seventeenth century.

31. *of a Hunnish and Norwegian statelines* = of the dictatorial overbearing Huns and Goths of the so-called Dark Ages. On the Huns see Smith's Gibbon, iii. ch. 26.

32. *polite* = polished, refined. 'Polite learning' was a common phrase in the last century. For some account of the Revival of Learning, see Hallam's Middle Ages, last chapter, and the first chapter of his Literature of Europe. A worthy history of that great movement has yet to be written.

33. *yet* = still. See Il Pensero 30, and note in Longer English Poems.

Jutlanders, i.e. rude and barbarous as were our ancestors before they were refined by southern civilisation. *Jutes* are said to have settled in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. See Smith's Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, p. 10; Vernon's Anglo-Saxon Guide, p. 118, &c.

P. 4. 1. *him who from his private house, &c.* = Isokrates. See Introduction.

3. *persuades* = is for persuading. So often the present in Latin.

7. *Cities* = States, Lat. *civitates*.

Siniories = lordships, baronies. So Shakspere, Tempest, i. 2. 70-72:

'As at that time

Through all the *signiories* it was the first,

And Prospero the prime duke,' &c.

Richard II, iii. 1. 22, iv. 1. 89.

9. *Dion Prusaenus* was surnamed Chrysostomos, or of the golden lips, for his eloquence. He was born at Prusa in Bithynia, about the middle of the first century of our aera; presently went to Rome. Expelled with other philosophers by Domitian, he travelled in Thrace, Mysia, Scythia, and amongst the Getae; he returned to Rome immediately after the accession of Nerva; then to Prusa about 100 A.D., whence in disgust with the pettymindedness of his fellow-citizens he went back to Rome, where he died about 117 A.D. Niebuhr, in his Lectures on Roman History, iii. 235, 3rd edit. ed. Schmitz, speaks with great admiration of his talents. See Smith's larger Greek and Roman Biography. The speech here referred to is the Rhodian Discourse (*Ῥοδιακὸς λόγος*), in which the orator makes his protest against the Rhodian habit of re-using, so to speak, their public statues, which were from time to time made to do duty for the reigning favourites, the inscriptions altered.

13. *a life wholly dedicated to studious labours.* See Eleg. i. 25:

‘Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis,
Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.’

Ad Familiares, Ep. vi: ‘It is also in my favour that your method of study is such as to admit of frequent interruptions, in which you visit your friends, write letters, or go abroad; but it is my way to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits.’ Also Ep. vii, where he gives some account of his studies: ‘I went through the perusal of the Greek authors to the time when they ceased to be Greeks,’ &c. Apology for Smeectymnuus: ‘... the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tired out almost a whole youth.’ On Education: ‘But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years, altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.’ A Treatise on Christian Doctrine: ‘I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth,’ &c.

14. *those natural endowments, &c.* He was not always without doubt as to whether his genius could flourish in our latitude, so ‘far from the sun and summer gale’ (see Gray’s Progress of Poesy, 83), whose beams and breath had fostered the wits of Greece. See Reason of Church Government, ii: ‘If to the instinct of nature and the imboldening of art, aught may be trusted; and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories.’ Paradise Lost, ix.

41-47:

‘Me of these
Nor skilled nor studious, higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or *cold Climate*, or years, damp my intended wing
Depress’d; and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers, who brings it nightly to my ear.’

the worst. It is possible *worst* may be a misspelling for *worse*; but there is no authority for saying that it is so. Certainly *the worst* gives a quite satisfactory meaning,—one wholly different from that which *the worse* would give. [State distinctly the respective meanings.]

16. *derogated*—subtracted, the opp. of *arrogated*. See Cicero, pro Roscio Amerino 32: ‘Non mihi tantum *derogo*, tametsi nihil *arogo*.’ Milton means that, studious as he has been and happy as he is in his birth country, yet he cannot equal himself with those orators to whom he has just referred; what is wanting in him as compared with those orators must be more than compensated for by the superiority of the audience he addresses to those whom they for the most part addressed.

17. *obtain.* Cp. Dryden *apud* Johnson: ‘The conclusion of the story I

forbore, because I could not obtain from myself to shew Absolom unfortunate.'

31. *that Order.* See Introduction.

P. 5, l. 3. *that part which preserves, &c.* = which acknowledges and protects 'copyright.' See in the Order the sentence beginning, 'And that no person or persons shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed,' &c. Cp. Clause vii. of the Star Chamber Decree.

4. *or provides for the poor.* See that same sentence.

6. *painful* = painstaking, laborious. See Trench's Select Glossary, s. v. Fulier's Holy State, ii. 6: 'O the holiness of their living and *painfulness* of their preaching.'

7. Observe the divisions of the Speech here proposed. He will point out who are

I. The Authors of the book-licensing system, pp. 5-13.

II. 'What is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or harm that thence proceeds,' pp. 13-22.

III. 'That this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed,' pp. 22-29.

IV. It will not only do no good; it will do immense harm in discouraging the pursuit of learning and the search after truth, pp. 29 to end.

that other clause, &c. See the sentence beginning 'It is therefore ordered,' &c.

brother is adjectival here, = brother-like, i. e. kindred, cognate. Comp. 'brother-love' in Henry VIII, v. 3. 173. For the meaning comp. the Greek ἀδελφός, as in Soph. Antig. 192: καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὸν τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω. Notice too our common use of 'sister' in a metaphorical sense.

8. *his.* *Its* was scarcely yet admitted into literary English. See note on *its* in Longer English Poems, p. 223; also Morris's English Accidence, § 172.

quadragesimal = Lenten. Thus Sanderson *apud* Johnson: 'I have composed prayers out of the Church Collects adventural, *quadragesimal*, paschal, or pentecostal.' Holt White quotes from Cartwright's Ordinary:

'But *quadragesimal* wits and fancies leane
As Ember weeks.'

(Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old English Plays, xii. 268.) Comp. *Quadragesima* Sunday = 1st Sunday in Lent. Milton here refers to the restrictions as to food during Lent, which were in some degree retained by the English Church after the Reformation. Certain days were appointed for 'fish-days,' for the non-observance of which 'licenses' were granted. 'Queen Elizabeth used to say that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining license from her little black husband' (= Archbishop Whitgift). (Walton's life of Hooker.) See also 2 Henry IV, ii. 4. 375.

9. *matrimonial* = marriage licenses. Milton regarded marriage simply as a civil contract, not at all as a 'sacrament.' It was formally made so by an Ordinance, and in 1653 by an Act of Parliament, ratified in 1656. See

The Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church: 'As for marriages, that ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctified or legitimate without their celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of precept or example. Likeliest it is (which our Selden hath well observed, I. ii. c. 58 *Ux. Eb.*) that in imitation of heathen priests, who were wont at nuptials to use many rites and ceremonies, and especially judging it would be profitable and the encrease of their authority not to be spectators only in a business of such concernment to the life of man, they insinuated that marriage was not holy without their benediction, and for the better colour made it a Sacrament, being of itself a civil ordinance, a household contract,' &c., &c. (Works, p. 431.)

when the Prelats expired. Episcopacy was not formally abolished till October 9, 1646; but the bishops had lost their 'status' some years before. They were ejected from the House of Peers early in 1641, and so had 'expired' as 'prelates,' the title 'prelates' denoting their civil position: see Holt White's note on Prelacy and Episcopacy, p. 122.

attend = turn towards, direct my mind to. So the Latin *attendo*, as Cicero, *Philippics*, ii. 12. 30: 'Stuporem hominis *attendite*.'

10. *homily*. Cp. *As You Like It*, iii. 2. 164: 'What tedious *homily* of love have you wearied your parishioners withal, and never cried Have patience, good people.' The word originally means (i) 'communion,' 'intercourse'; (ii) then especially the association of pupil with master, and so instruction; and (iii) lastly, a special form of ecclesiastical instruction. For (ii) see Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, i. 2. 6: Τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὄμιλλας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἔαντῶν ἀπεκάλει διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν. So *Ib.* 15; comp. δμιλητά in 12. (Comp. *φοιτᾶν εἰς τίνα*, as *Aristophanes, Equites* 1235.)

18. *disexercising*. I cannot find any other occurrence of this word.

19. *cropping*. The A.S. *crop* = top, bunch, craw of a bird. According to Wedgwood the radical notion is a knob; *Gael. crap, cnap*, *Welsh crob, crwb, crab*, *Ital. groppo*. In *Piers Plowman*, xvi. 42, B. text, it = a tree-top; cp. *Chaucer's Prologue* 7. *To crop* = to take the top off; comp. *to top, to skin, to peel, &c.*

22. He now addresses himself to Point I, see p. 67.

27. *but doe contain, &c.* Cp. *Bacon's Advancement of Learning*, I. viii. 6, p. 72, ed. Aldis Wright: 'It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images because they generate still and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages.' &c.

29. *violl* = *vial* = *phial*, Gr. *φιαλή*.

32. *those fabulous Dragons teeth*. See the story of Jason, how by Medea's direction he sowed the teeth of the Colchian dragon, and there sprang up men all armed. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 121, et seq. :

‘Galea tum sumit ahena

Vipereos dentes, et aratos spargit in agros.

Semina mollit humus,’ &c.

The story is charmingly told in the eighth book of Morris's *Jason*. Cp. the story of Cadmus, also that of Deucalion.

[P. 6, l. 2. What does *almost* qualify?]

6. *a burden to the Earth*. Cp. the Homeric *ἀχθός ἀρούρης* (*Iliad*, xviii. 104; *Odyssey*, xx. 379). So Lat. *pondera terrae*. (Liddell and Scott.)

7. *life-blood*. Shakspere, 3 *Henry VI*, i. 4. 138:

‘How couldst thou drain the *life blood* of the child?’

Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 269, &c. ; *Paradise Lost*, viii. 467. The word probably points to some old physiological theory as to the identity of life and blood. Cp. *Genesis* ix. 4: ‘But flesh with the *life thereof*, which is the *blood thereof*, shall ye not eat.’

[8. What is meant by *on purpose* here?]

10. *revolutions of ages*, &c. Thus the wisdom of the ancient world was lost with the fall of the Roman empire, and not recovered in any considerable degree for many a long century; and certainly Europe fared the worse.

12. *the worse*. ‘The’ here is an old ablative = *thi*, *thè*. Cp. Latin *eo*. See Morris's *English Accidence*, § 178.

14. *Spill* = *destroy*. Sometimes = *to die*. See Morris and Skeat's *Specimens 1298-1393*, *Glossary*.

18. *an elementall life*, &c. Cp. *Paradise Lost*, iii. 714-21:

‘Swift to their several quarters hasted then
The cumbrous element, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quintessence of heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That rolled orbicular and turned to stars,’ &c.

So Uriel, the sun-angel, to Satan, of the creation of the world. ‘This notion our author borrowed from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, and its motion was orbicular: εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄλλο πέμπτον, ἐξ οὗ τὰ αἰθέρια συνεστάναι ἄλλοιαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι, κυκλοφορικὴν γὰρ; which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle.’ (Newton.)

19. *fifth essence* = *quintessence*. Lat. *quinta essentia*. *Essentia* is Cicero's translation of the Gr. *οὐσία*. On the form *fifth* see *Variorum Shakspere*, ed. 1813, ii. 183.

21. *condemned of*, &c. We should say ‘condemned for’; but we still say ‘accused of,’ ‘convicted of.’ Holt White quotes from *Lily's Euphues*: ‘That thou shouldst condemn me of rigor,’ &c.

[22. *licence*. State clearly the two different meanings of *license*, on which there is a play here.]

26. *the Inquisition*. 'The Holy Inquisition,' or 'The Holy Office' (*Sanctum Officium*), was first conceived by Pope Innocent III, when, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Albigenses dared to entertain irregular doctrines. After that execrable inauguration, it was presently introduced into other parts of France, into Italy, and, in the face of much notable opposition, into Spain; but its power declined everywhere, partly because there arose no fresh victims for its energy. In the last-named country, towards the close of the fifteenth century, it was revivified and organized by Ferdinand and Isabella, to whom it recommended itself as an excellent instrument for plundering the Jews and crushing the Mahomedans of the peninsula. The Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza lent his help. Thomas de Torquemada, prior to the Dominican convent at Segovia and father-confessor to Mendoza, was appointed first Grand Inquisitor in 1478. 'He had two hundred familiars and a guard of fifty horsemen.' The new court was opened at Seville in 1481. 'Spanish writers relate that above seventeen thousand gave themselves up to the Inquisition; more than two thousand were condemned to the flames the first year, and great numbers fled to neighbouring countries.' In 1483 the Pope, who had opposed the new institution, as the conversion of an ecclesiastical into a secular tribunal, formally acknowledged Torquemada. In 1484 the jurisdiction was accurately defined. As late as 1763 'heretics' were burned by this deadly Office. It was abolished by Napoleon in 1808, revived in 1814, abolished again and finally in 1820. See *Popular Encyclopaedia*, s. v., which quotes from Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition* (Paris, 1815; in English, London, 1827).

27. *caught* . . . *caught*. Observe the two forms of the past participle. Milton seems to regard 'catch up' as a compound, and inflects it differently from the simple verb.

28. *Presbyters*. Presbyterianism had now superseded Episcopalianism. Milton was presently to discover that the new -ism was as little liberal as the old. See above, p. 62.

29. *Athens where, &c.* See *Paradise Regained*, iv. 240-43:

'Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.'

Cp. the great speech of Pericles, Thucydides, ii. 36-44, especially 41: *ξυνελάνω τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδευσιν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.* See Jerram's *Par. Reg.* iv. 239.

33. *Thus the Books of Protagoras, &c.* He does not aim at being exhaustive, or he might have mentioned the indictments of Anaxagoras and of Aspasia for 'impiety.' See Grote's *Greece*, iv. 231, edit. 1862.

Protagoras, the first 'Sophist,' was born at Abdera in Thrace, about

B.C. 480. Before 445 he was living at Athens, where, in 411, he was accused of impiety by one Puthodoros, on the ground that in a book on the gods (*περὶ θεῶν*) he had stated that he was unable to know whether they existed or not. See Diogenes Laertius, ix. 54. Socrates in Plato's *Theaitetos*, 162 D, makes Protagoras or ἄλλος *τις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν* speak of the gods as *οὐς ἡγώ ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ γράφειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰσὶν ή ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἐξαρῶ*.

P. 7, l. 1. *Areopagus*. See Introduction.

6. *Vetus Comoedia* = the earlier Greek comedy—the comedy of Kratinos, Eupolis, Aristophanes; Horace's 'Comoedia prisca.' (Satires, i. 4. 1-5.) It indulged in the broadest personalities (see Aristophanes' plays *passim*, e.g. his representations of Kleon, of Sokrates, of Euripides); and at last was muzzled. See Horace, Ep. ad Pisones, 281-84:

‘Successit *vetus* *his* *comoedia*, non sine multa
Laude; sed in *vitium libertas* *excidit et vim*
Dignam lege regi; *lex est accepta, chorusque*
Turpiter obticuit sublato jure nocendi.’

7. *quick* = vital, vigorous, &c. See Heb. iv. 12.

8. *as Cicero writes*. See his *De Natura Deorum*, i. 23: 'Quid? Diagoras, atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus, nonne aperte deorum naturam sustulerunt? Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras, cuius a te modo mentio facta est, Sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus, cum in principio libri sui sic posuisset, "De divis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere," Atheniensium iussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus librique ejus in concione combusti. Ex quo quidem existimo tardiores ad hanc sententiam profitendam multos esse factos, quippe cum poenam ne dubitatio quidem effugere potuisset.'

quell = kill. See 2 Hen. IV, ii. 1. 59; Macb. i. vii. 72; Par. Reg. iv. 634.

9. *as the event shew'd*. Observe 'obticuit' in the quotation given above from Horace.

13. *Epicurus* was born in Samos B.C. 342, went to live at Athens in 306, there founded a famous school, and died in 270. His leading ethical tenet, that men were to be virtuous in order to be happy, was soon distorted. All that was observed was the end he proposed. The means for acquiring it which he enjoined were ignored; and thus Epicureanism was degraded into mere self-indulgence, and the garden became 'a sty.'

that libertine school of Cyrene = the school founded by Aristippos about B.C. 370. He identified the chief good with pleasure. Cicero's *Academica*, ii. 42. 131: 'Alii voluptatem finem esse voluerunt, quorum princeps Aristippus, qui Socratem audierat, unde Cyrenaici'; see also *Tusculanae Disputationes*, ii. 6. 15. He would let nothing trouble him if he could help it. When on a journey his gold impeded his progress, he ordered it to be thrown away. See Horace, *Satires*, ii. 3. 99-102; also *Epistles*, i. 17. 13-15, and i. 1. 17-18:

‘Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,
Et mihi res, non me rebus, subjugere conor.’

libertine = originally a manumitted slave, as always in pure Latin. So

Acts vi. 9. In various modern languages the word has been adopted in a secondary sense to denote one released from all proper moral restraint, who acknowledges no law. See Shakspere, Hamlet, i. 3. 49; Bacon's Essays, on Marriage, &c. In the seventeenth century, in religious matters *libertines* = 'free-thinkers.' See Trench's Select Glossary. The moral the word conveys —how unregulated liberty becomes license—may be illustrated from Wordsworth's Ode to Duty; see especially

' Me this unchartered freedom tires ;
I feel the weight of chance desires.'

14. *the Cynick impudence.* The phrase, as Holt White notes, is from Diogenes Laertius (*πρὸς τὴν κυνικὴν ἀναισχυτίαν*, p. 164, fol. 1664). Antisthenes, a pupil of Sokrates—he had previously been a pupil of Gorgias—formed a school on Sokrates' death, and chose for his place of meeting a public place in that quarter of Athens called the Cynosarges, from which some say the sect of Cynics derives its name; others derive it from the snarling propensities of the founder, who was frequently called 'the Dog.' The fame of Antisthenes has been surpassed by that of his disciple Diogenes of Sinope. Milton means by 'the Cynic impudence' that insolence of manner and of language, that rude and unqualified contempt of humanity, that especially characterised the philosopher of the tub. See the various anecdotes of him; e. g. he said he had never seen men; at Sparta he had seen children; at Athens, women. Lewes' Biographical History of Philosophy; Ritter and Preller's Hist. Phil. Gr. et Rom. §§ 221-8.

17. *Plato commended, &c.* Holt White quotes from Petit's (Samuel Petit, 1594-1643, author also of *Leges Atticae*) *De Vita et Scriptis Aristophanis*: 'Quod autem magis mirandum, Plato, tantus Socratis propugnator, Dionysio regi Syracusano statum reipublicae Atheniensis et linguam ex optimo autore perdiscere cupienti Aristophanis Comoedias misit ut ex iis linguam et ingenium Atheniensium simul cognosceret.' On the intercourse between Plato and Dionysius, see Grote, vii. ch. 83, edit. 1862.

18. *Aristophanes.* Born about 444, died about 380 B.C. See Donaldson's Müller's Literature of Ancient Greece.

the loosest of them all. Aristophanes is 'loose' as Chaucer is 'loose'; that is, he is at times altogether plain-spoken. There is nothing in him of the infinitely worse 'looseness' of innuendo and suggestion, no under-current of indecency beneath a respectable surface.

19. *Dionysius, the elder, Tyrant of Syracuse from 405-367 B.C.* See Grote's Greece, vii. chap. 83.

20. *holy Chrysostome* = 'Saint' Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, the eloquent 'Father'; born at Antioch about 347, died at Comana in Asia Minor 407 A.D. See Gibbon's Roman Empire, iv. ch. 32: 'The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chrysostom.'

as is reported, &c. See a letter from Æmilius Portus, in an epistle to Bisetus, one of the scholiasts of Aristophanes, quoted in the Encyclopaedia

Metropolitana, History of Greek Literature. Holt White quotes from Menage's vindication of himself for reading Rabelais: 'Clément Alexandrin cite à toute heure Aristophanes. S. Jan. Chrysostome le lisoit continuellement, et le mettoit la nuit sous son chevet, si on en croit Alde Manuce dans la Dédicace des Œuvres de ce Comique; car je ne say point d'auteur plus ancien qui ait fait mention de cette amitié de S. Jan Chrysostome pour les Comédies d'Aristophane.' (Avis au Lecteur, prefixed to the second part of his *Observations sur la Langue Françoise*.) But here, as elsewhere, Menage's knowledge was at fault. Plato is said to have pillow'd his head on a copy of Sophron's *Mimes*.

24. *Lycurgus*, the Spartan lawgiver, flourished in the ninth century B.C. See Grote, ii. chap. 6, 'Laws and Discipline of Lykurgus at Sparta.'

25. *was so addicted*, &c. Milton's authority here is Plutarch's Life of Lykurgos: ἐκεὶ δὲ [in 'Asia'] καὶ τοῖς Ὄμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, κ.τ.λ. = 'There also, probably, he met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences and much political knowledge were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected them into one body and transcribed them with pleasure, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known.' (Langhorne.)

27. *the poet Thales*, or Thaletas, not to be confounded with 'the Wise Man' of Miletus. See Plutarch's Lykurgos: 'Among the friends he gained at Crete was Thales, with whom he had interest enough to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta. . . . For his Odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity; as by means of melody and numbers they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue.' (Langhorne.) See the account of Thaletas—he 'makes the third epoch in the history of Greek music'—in Donaldson's Müller: 'In fact Thaletas lived several centuries [probably two] later than Lycurgus, having been one of the musicians who assisted in perfecting Terpander's musical system at Sparta and giving it a new and fixed form.'

28. *surlinesse*. *Surly* = etymologically, *sour-like*. In A.S. the adj. *sürelie* does not seem to occur; but there is the adv. presumably formed from it, viz. *sürelice*. Cp. Germ. *säuerlich*. Wedgwood's suggestion that it is from 'sirlike, magisterial, arrogant,' seems not very valuable.

30. *museless* = ἀμονσοι, as Euripides, Ion 526:

οὐ φιλῶ φρενοῦν ἀμονσούς καὶ μεμηνότας ξέρους.

Aristophanes, Vespa 1074, &c. Plato couples ἀμονσία with ἀπειροκαλία, Republic, 403 C.

33. *their owne Laconick Apothegms*. Plato speaks of *βραχυλογία τις λακωνική* = 'a sort of laconic terseness' (Protogoras, 343 B). In his *De Legibus* (641 E) he speaks of Lacedaemon being commonly known as *βραχύ-*

λογος, Crete as πολύλογος, &c. The ancient writers, and indeed the modern, abound with references to, and instances of, this Spartan characteristic. See Plutarch's Lives *passim*, and his (or his son's) collection of Apothegms; Cicero's Ep. Fam. xi. 25. 2, &c. It has given us the word *laconic* in the sense of terse.

apothegms. Properly spelled *apophthegms*. Gr. ἀπόφθεγμα, lit. = something said plainly.

P. 8, l. 1. *Archilochus*. Flor. 714-676 B.C. 'Plutarch (Inst. Lacon. 239 B) states that Archilochus was banished from Sparta the very hour that he arrived there because he had written in his poems that a man had better throw away his arms than lose his life. But Valerius Maximus (vi. 3. extr. 1) says that the poems of Archilochus were forbidden at Sparta because of their licentiousness, and especially on account of the attack on the daughter of Lycambes. It must remain doubtful whether a confusion has been made between the personal history of the poet and the fate of his works,' &c. (Smith's Dict.) For further account of him see Donaldson's Müller, Grote, iii. chap. 29, &c. The lines which, according to Plutarch's account, disgusted Spartan fortitude may be found in Schneidewin's *Delectus Poet. Elegiac. Graec.* p. 173:

ἀσπίδι μὲν Στίσιον τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνῳ
ἔντος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος· ἀσπὶς ἔκεινη
ἔρρετω· ἔξαυτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

2. *perhaps for composing*, &c. Unhappily what remains of Archilochus' writing is too fragmentary to enable us to form any adequate idea of him. Horace imitated him in his Epodes 'as to form and spirit, but not as to subject'; see Horace, Ep. i. 19. 23-25:

'Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animumque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.

3. *their owne soulndiery ballats*, &c. The most famous writer of these war songs was in all probability not a Spartan born, but a native of Aphidnae in Attica; it was Tyrtaeus. See what remains of him in Schneidewin.

ballats and *roundels* are often mentioned together. See e. g. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, ed. 1840, ii. 222 note: 'About this time [1380] a Prior of Genevieve at Paris wrote a small treatise, entitled *L'Art de dictier Ballades et Rondelles*,' &c.

ballats. *Ballat* or *ballad*, Fr. *ballade*, is by no means confined in older usage to its present meaning of a certain kind of popular narrative poem. It came to be so confined, I think, only in the last century on the revival of medieval literature. In the older writers it means a song of any sort; thus Shakspere in *As You Like It* (ii. 7. 148) speaks of

'the lover

Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow,' &c.

No doubt it originally denoted a dance-song (cp. the following note on *Roundel*); and is cognate with our *ball* (a dance-party), *ballet*, &c., from Low Lat. *ballare*, Ital. *ballare*, to dance. For the spelling, comp. *ballet*.

roundels, Fr. *rondelles*. Cp. *roundelay*, Fr. *rondelet*. *Roundel* properly means 'anything round,' as a shield, a trencher, &c.; see Nares' Glossary. In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 3. 1, &c., *roundel* = a dance; not what we call 'a round dance,' but a dance in a ring. From meaning 'a ring dance' it was used for a song sung by the dancers, or during a dance; cp. l. c.:

'Come, now a *roundel* and a *fairy song*.'

(So at this day in the Faroe Islands: 'They use no instrumental music, but dance to songs. . . . The object of the song is not only to regulate the steps, but at the same time to awaken certain feelings by its meaning.' See Prior's *Ancient Danish Ballads*, Introduction, p. v.) Steevens says it was sometimes used to signify 'a song beginning or ending with the same sentence; *redit in orbem*.' Johnson quotes from the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* a not inconsistent but much more minute definition. See what Spenser calls a 'roundle' or 'roundelay' in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, August.

6. *conversing* = manner of life. Cp. 'conversation,' i Pet. i. 15, &c. When Eve says 'with thee conversing' &c. (*Paradise Lost*, iv. 639) she means not merely 'with thee talking,' but 'with thee associating.' It is the Latin use; thus Seneca's Ep. 99: 'nemo libenter tristi *conversatur*, nedum tristitiae.'

whence *Euripides*, &c. See the *Andromache*, 590 et seq., where Peleus enters to arrest Menelaus in his seizure of the heroine, and abuses roundly both him and Helen and Spartan ways in respect of women. The lines specially alluded to are:

οὐδὲ ἀν εἰ βούλοιτο τις
σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατίδων κόρη, κ.τ.λ.

On the 'promiscuous conversing' of Spartan life—how the women lived a public life strangely contrasting with that of the women in other Greek cities—how they despised spinning and weaving, and exercised themselves in running, boxing and wrestling—see Grote's *Greece*, ii. chap. 6. See Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 15, &c. As to the charge here quoted against them see Plutarch's *Lykurgos*, chap. 15, who says it was different in the older times, so different ὅστε δλως ἀπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ' αὐτοῖς = that amongst them the crime of adultery was altogether incredible.

8. *after* = according to, as to, regarding. Cp. 'after our iniquities,' in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

10. *for many ages*, &c. See Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 156-162:

'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris,' &c.

See also Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, i. 1, 2.

11. *resembling . . . of* = bearing the semblance of.

12. *their twelve Tables* = the famous code formed by the Decemvirs; see Dickson's Mommsen's History of Rome, book ii. chap. 2. There were originally ten, 'passed' in 451; 'but as a supplement appeared necessary, decemvirs were again nominated in the year 304 [A.U.C.; B.C. 450], who added two more tables. Thus originated the first and only legal code of Rome.'

13. *the Pontifick College*. See Dickson's Mommsen, book i. chap. 12: 'The five "bridge-makers" (pontifices) derived their name from their function, as sacred as it was politically important, of conducting the building and demolition of the bridge over the Tiber. They were the Roman engineers, who understood the mystery of measures and numbers; whence there devolved upon them also the duties of managing the calendar of the state, of proclaiming to the people the time of new and full moon, and the days of festivals, and of seeing that every religious and every judicial act took place on the right day. . . . Thus they acquired (although not probably in its full extent till after the abolition of the monarchy) the general oversight of Roman worship and of whatever was connected with it—and what was there that was not so connected?' &c.

their Augurs. 'The six Augurs were skilled in interpreting the language of the gods from the flight of birds, an art which was prosecuted with great earnestness and reduced to a quasi-scientific system.' Dickson's Mommsen, i. 178, &c. The *au*- = *avi*- = bird.

The Flamens were priests attached to the service of certain special gods, as of Mars, Jupiter, Pomona, &c., and in later times of the deified emperors. Three were of superior distinction (*maiores*)—those of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus (= Mars. See Dickson's Mommsen, i. 87). Varro derives the name from the fillet worn round the head—'quod in Latio capite uelato erant semper ac caput cinctum habebant filo.' More probably the word is connected with *flare*, and means the 'kindler,' as the priest 'was designated from presenting burnt-offerings.' See Dickson's Mommsen, i. 175, &c.

14. *So unacquainted*, &c. On Roman un-culture, see Mommsen, book iii. chap. 14.

15. *that when*, &c. This was in 155 B.C. The object of the embassy was to deprecate the fine of 500 talents imposed on the Athenians for the destruction of Oropus. See Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 3; Polybius, xxxiii. 1.

Carneades, born at Cyrene circ. 213, died 129 B.C., was founder of the New Academy at Athens. It was at Rome during his ambassadorial visit in 155 B.C. that he delivered his lectures on Justice, in the second of which he dexterously refuted the arguments advanced in the first.

Critolaus, born at Phaselis in Lycia, succeeded Ariston as the head of the Peripatetic school.

16. *the Stoick Diogenes* = Diogenes Babylonios (born at Seleucia in Babylonia), succeeded Zeno of Tarsus as the head of the Stoic school. Be sure not to confound him with the Cynic Diogenes. On the *Stoics* see

Lewes; also *Paradise Regained*, iv. 300-318. They derived their name from Zeno's having opened his school in the *Stoa Poikile*.

Embassadors. For the *e* cp. *Embassy*. The word is of Teutonic origin. Cp. Mod. Germ. *Amt*.

19. *Cato the Censor*=the famous Marcus Portius Cato, 'Cato Major,' Censor in 184. See Dickson's Mommsen, ii. 349 et seq. 'It has been the custom to laugh at Cato for his dogged opposition to everything Greek; but there was much truth in his denunciations. We have heard much of young Bengál—young Hindus who read Byron and Voltaire, play at billiards, drive tandems, laugh at their priests, patronise missionaries, and believe nothing. The description which Cato gives of the young idlers at Rome reminds us very much of young Bengál.' (Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, 1st Series, 2nd ed. pp. 98, 99.) Cp. Mommsen, iii. 429: 'On this occasion at least Cato could not be found fault with when he not only bluntly enough compared the dialectic arguments of the philosophers to the tedious dutes of the wailing women, but also insisted on the senate dismissing a man who understood the art of making right wrong and wrong right, and whose defence was in fact nothing but a shameless and almost insulting confession of injustice.' See Bacon's *Adv. of Learning*, pp. 10, 11, Clar. Press ed.

mov'd it=brought forward a motion. This use of *it* is common enough in 'Elizabethan' English; thus 'trip it' in *L'Allegro* 33, 'dance it' in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1. 403, &c. See an attempt to explain it in *Longer English Poems*, p. 236.

21. *babblers.* So *Acts xvii. 18*.

Scipio. This was the younger Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, the friend of Polybius, Terence, Panaetius, and Lucilius; a Scipio by adoption, by birth the son of Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Cicero makes him the chief speaker in his *De Republica*.

others of the noblest Senators, as Laelius.

22. *his old Sabin austerity.* Cato was brought up at his father's farm in the Sabine territory; and to that farm he returned at intervals in his later life, living plainly and frugally after the old fashion, and so protesting by his practice, as always by his theory, against the luxury beginning to prevail in the Rome of his day. He would find the Sabines congenial neighbours. They became proverbial for their rough simple life. See *Juvenal*, x. 298-9:

'Sanctos licet horrida mores

Tradiderit domus, ac veteres imitata Sabinos,' &c.; also iii. 85 and 169, vi. 164; cp. 'Curibusque severis,' *Aen.* viii. 638, &c.; see other passages referred to by Mayor in his note to *Juvenal*, l. c. Livy (i. 18) speaks of 'disciplina tetrica ac tristis veterum Sabinorum quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.'

24. *at last in his old age, &c.* Near the close of his life he set himself to study Greek literature. Cornelius Nepos, after mentioning other accomplishments, says of him: 'cupidissimus literarum fuit; quarum studium etsi senior

arriperat, tamen tantum progressum fecit ut non facile reperiri possit neque de Graecis neque de Italicis rebus quod ei fuerit incognitum.' In Cicero de Senectute, Cato is made to speak of himself as one 'qui Graecas literas senex didici.' 'He disliked and cried out upon all Greek learning; and yet being 80 years old, began to learn it; belike fearing that Pluto understood not Latin.' (Sidney's Apol. for Poetrie, p. 56, ed. Arber). Bacon's Adv. of Learning, p. 17 of Clar. Press ed.

26. *Naevius and Plautus, &c.* See Dickson's Mommsen, book iii. chap.

14. Mommsen speaks of Naevius as 'the first Roman who deserves to be called a poet, and, so far as the accounts preserved regarding him and the few fragments of his works allow us to form an opinion, to all appearances one of the most remarkable and most important names in the whole range of Roman literature,' &c. He was born between 274 and 264 B.C., died about the close of the century. Plautus was born circ. 254, died in 184.

27. *the borrowed scenes, &c.* See Mommsen, l. c. Menander lived from 342 to 291 B.C. He was more particularly imitated by Terence. Philemon was in date a little senior to Menander. A third 'new comedian' much followed by the Roman playwrights was Diphilus. For what remains of these poets see Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, and the works of Plautus and Terence *passim*. Donaldson's Müller's *Anc. Gr. Lit.*

30. *for Naevius, &c.* See Dickson's Mommsen, ii. 431: 'Although he did not write exactly original Roman comedies, the few fragments of his, which we possess, are full of references to circumstances and persons in Rome. Among other liberties he not only ridiculed one Theodotus a painter by name, but even directed against the victor of Zama . . . verses, of which Aristophanes need not have been ashamed: as he himself says,

"Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus,"

he probably often wrote offensively and put dangerous questions, such as

"Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?" which he answered by an enumeration of political sins, such as

"Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli."

But the Roman police was not disposed like the Attic to hold stage-invectives and political diatribes as privileged, or even tolerate them at all,' &c. His sarcasm against the Metelli—

"Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules"—

is said to have specially caused his imprisonment. In his confinement he composed two of his comedies—the *Hariolus* and the *Leon*; and 'for the sake of these, which were a sort of recantation of his former lampoons, he was set at liberty by the tribunes of the Commons.' (Encycl. Metropol. Rom. Lit.) See Aulus Gellius, i. 24, vi. 18, &c. Plautus is supposed to allude to his confinement in his *Miles Gloriosus*, ii. 2. 58:

'Ecce autem aedificat; columnam mento suffulsit suo.

Apagel non placet profecto mi illa inaedificatio;

Nam os columnatum poetae esse inaudiuui barbaro,

Quoi bini custodes semper totis horis accubant.'

32. *that libels were burnt*, &c. See Tacitus' *Annals*, i. 72: 'Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis ejus [=legis Corneliae majestatis] tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat,' &c.; see also Suetonius, *Augustus* 55, and Dio Cassius, *lvi*. 27. A clause of the Eighth of the Twelve Tables had in fact dealt with libel; see Orelli's *Tacitus*, l. c.

P. 9, l. 4. *Lucretius*, &c. Lucretius' great poem *De Rerum Natura*, in which he attacks the monster 'religio'—the degraded and degrading notions of godhead prevailing amongst men—is dedicated to C. Memmius Gemellus, *praetor* in 58.

5. *his Epicurism*. His poem is a splendid exposition of the doctrines of Epicurus, to whom the poet looked up as to a great deliverer from superstitions, and so one of the greatest benefactors of humanity. See i. 63-79; also v. 1-54, especially 8-12:

'Deus ille fuit deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem
Fluctibus e tantis vitam tantisque tenebris
In tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit.'

Had the honour, &c. The authority for the statement that Cicero 'set forth' (=edited) Lucretius' poem is the phrase 'Tullii lima dignissimis' applied to his verses by Saint Jerome; see his additions to Eusebius' *Chronicon*. For Milton's *second time* there is no explicit authority. Jerome would seem to mean that Cicero *first* edited the poem; but his language is not inconsistent with Milton's statement. That he edited it at all cannot be pronounced a fact. It is certain that Cicero speaks with no great enthusiasm of the poem; see *Epistolae ad Quintum Fratrem*, ii. 11: 'Lucretii poemata ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis.' See Munro's *Lucretius*, text and notes, p. 298, and p. 313, third ed.

7. *himself disputes*, &c. As in his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, i and ii; *Tusc. Disp.* ii and iii; *De Nat. Deorum*, i and ii, &c.

9. *Satyricall*. The correct form is *satire*, not *satyr*. The latter form was suggested by a supposed derivation of the word from the Greek *σατυρός*, whereas it is the Latin (*lanx*) *satira* or *satura* (*satura* is the purer form).

Lucilius, born at Suessa Auruncorum ('magnus Auruncae . . . alumnus,' Juvenal, i. 20) 148, died at Naples 103 B.C. He is generally accounted as the founder ('inventor,' Horace, *Satires*, i. 10. 48) of the school of satire of which Horace, Persius, and Juvenal were subsequently such brilliant members. In Horace's time he was much read and admired. See Horace, *Satires*, i. 4. 1-13, also 10; and ii. 1. 29-34, where Horace declares himself his follower:

'Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus, anceps;'

Juvenal, i. 165-168; Persius, i. 114; Quintilianus, x. 1, &c. See Mommsen, book iii. chap. 14; Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*. 'The 'fragments' of *Lucilius*, of which there are upwards of eight hundred, have been several times printed.

10. *Catullus*, born at or close by Verona 87, died about 47 B.C.

Flaccus = Horace, whose full name was Quintus Horatius Flaccus. So Juvenal, vii. 227, &c. Similarly Vergil is sometimes designated by his cognomen—the 'family' as distinguished from the 'clan' name—'Maro.' as Juvenal, *ibid.*, Ausonius, *Idyllia*, iv. 56; Ovid as 'Naso,' &c. Conversely, Cicero is sometimes called by his nomen 'Tully.' On Roman names see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*

11. *the story* = the history. The word *story* is in fact but the word *history* 'decapitated'; cp. *censer* and *incense*, Lat. *centum* and *decem*, *cess* and *assess*, *size* and *assize*, &c.

Titus Livius, born at Patavium (Padua) 59 B.C., where, after a life spent mostly at Rome, he died 17 A.D.

though it *extoll'd*, &c. Time has done what Augustus did not—it has 'suppressed' the passage here referred to. Books cix-cxvi, which dealt with the Caesar and Pompey war, are only known to us by extremely meagre epitomes, or rather 'arguments.' Milton's authority for the tolerance shown by Augustus is Tacitus; see *Annales*, iv. 34, where Cremutius Cordus, prosecuted for eulogising Brutus and Cassius, in his defence maintains the right of free speech, quoting amongst other pertinent precedents: 'Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum officit.'

that part. So Lat. *parts*, as Cicero, *Ep. Fam.* x. 31; more commonly in the plural, as *Philippics*, xiii. 20, &c.

13. *Octavius Caesar*. This never was his name. Originally he was called 'Caius Octavius'; after his adoption by his great uncle, 'Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus': to this name 'Augustus' was added by the Senate and the people in 27 B.C.

faction, here used in a neutral, has generally in Latin, as in English, a bad sense; thus Sallust, *Jugurtha* 31, in the accusation of Bestia by Memmius: 'Sed haec [the combination of men bound together by common desires and hatreds and fears] inter bonos amicitia, inter malos *fatio* est.'

14. *that Naso*, &c. The cause of Ovid's banishment ('relegatio,' not 'exsilium') remains, and probably will always remain, in obscurity. That it was not really his having written the *Arts Amatoria*, which was the nominal pretext, seems proved by the fact that that work had been published some ten years when in A.D. 9 the poet was suddenly transported to Tomi. He himself speaks of the matter mysteriously; he says his fault was involuntary. See his *Tristia*, and his *Ex Ponto passim*. See also Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*.

Naso = Publius Ovidius Naso, born at Sulmo B.C. 43, died at Tomi on the Euxine A.D. 18. See especially *Tristia*, iv. 10.

in his old age. Ovid was some fifty-two years old at the time of his banishment.

15. *a mere covert of state* = a mere state pretext.

16. *the Books were neither banish'd, &c.* This is not quite accurate. At the time of the poet's banishment the *Ars Amatoria* was ejected from the public libraries by the Emperor's command.

17. *from hence we shall meet, &c.* See e.g. Tacitus' Annals and History *passim*; as Ann. i. 7: 'at Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques.' &c.

19. *that we may not marvell, &c.* See e.g. the account of the burning of Cremutius Cordus' Annals of Brutus and Cassius in Tacitus' Annals, iv. 35.

21. *anough.* Cp. Scotch *aneuch*. *Enough* comes nearer the A.-S. *genoh*, Germ. *genug*. The Moes.-Goth. is *ga-nohs*, an adj.; see Skeat's Moeso-Gothic Glossary. Other English forms are *ynough*, *ynow*, *enow*, *anow*; see Morris's English Accidence, 235.

the emperours, &c. Constantine reigned from 306 to 337. See Smith's Gibbon, ii and iii; Milman's Hist. of Christ., ii.

27. *Hereticks.* In classical Greek *αἰρετικός* = able to choose; intelligent, as in Aristotle, Magn. M. i. 21; and heresy, *αἰρεσίς* = a choosing. In later Greek *αἰρεσίς*, from meaning 'what is chosen,' came to mean a set of views or principles, and so a school, a sect. In ecclesiastical Greek the word denoted specially a choice of other views than the received or so-called orthodox; see 1 Cor. xi. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.

29. *the generall Councils.* The first general or oecumenical council was that convened at Nicaea in Bithynia in 325, when the Nicene Creed was drawn up. They were called 'general' or 'oecumenical' (=world-representing) to distinguish them from the local and provincial synods.

30. *Autority.* Down into the first half of the 16th cent. the common forms of the primary substantive seem to have been *auctour* and *auctor*; so in Chaucer, Tyndale, Elyot, &c. (See Skeat's *Specimens of Eng. Lit.* pp. 173, 202, &c.)

32. *Porphyrius.* Porphyry, whose original name was Malchus (=the Syro-phenician Melech), born 233, died circ. 305 A.D., was successively a pupil of Origen, of Apollonius, of Longinus, and of Plotinus. His treatise against the Christian religion 'called forth replies from above thirty different antagonists, the most celebrated of whom were Methodius, Apollinaris, and Eusebius.' The public destruction of the work by order of the Emperor Constantine seems to have succeeded in its object; no copy is extant. Smith's Gibbon, ii. 266 n.; Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., i. 70, ed. 1826.

35. *Proclus*, named Diadochos, as the genuine successor of Plato in doctrine, was born at Byzantium 412, died 485 A.D. See Smith's Gibbon, v. 92; Morell's Tennemann's Manual of the History of Philosophy, pp. 192-9. He was principally offended in the Christian religion by the doctrine of the creation of the world.

P. 10. 1. *about the year 400 in a Carthaginian Council.* The fourth Council of Carthage met in 398. See Hallam's Middle Ages, iii. 273, ed. 1856; Student's ed. p. 510.

4. *scrupl'd more the books, &c.* This is a common construction in Elizabethan English; thus 'she wander'd many a wood' (Spenser), 'roam'd the utmost isles' (Paradise Lost), 'walk'd the waves' (Lycidas), 'smile you my speeches' (King Lear), 'I cannot too much muse such shapes' (Tempest), &c.

7. *passing* = advancing. *Pass* and *pace* are identical words. See Shaksp. *Jul. Caes.* I. i. 47.

8. *furder.* In the case of *murder* and *murther*, the *d* form has been retained. The A.-S. form is *furðor*, where ð = dh, the *th* of *thine*. Comp. A.-S. *fæder* with *father*, *moder* with *mother*.

9. *lay by* = lay aside, put on one side, i. e. not to read.

10. *Padre Paolo* = the monastic name of Pietro Sarpi, born at Venice 1552, died 1623. Drawn from his cell—he was a monk of the Servite order—into public life, he became the champion of Venice in its resistance to papal supremacy over its secular government. Of his subsequent years, which were spent mainly in his monastery, the great work was his History of the Council of Trent, 'faithfully translated into English by Nathanael Brent,' 1620. See a short life of him by Dr. Johnson, *Works*, ii. 109-11, ed. 1862. For the passage of the work referred to in the text, see the 1620 ed., book vi. pp. 471-6, where the discussion at the council as to the Index Expurgatorius is introduced by a 'Discourse of the Author concerning the Prohibition of Books.' It has been pointed out by Mr. Osborn in his edition of the Areopagitica that this 'Discourse' would seem to have been in Milton's mind at the time he wrote the Areopagitica, as several of the facts it quotes are also quoted by him in the same connection. The paragraph that immediately illustrates the present text is this: 'After the year 800 the Popes of Rome, as they assumed a great part of the politick government, so they caused the Books, whose authors they did condemn, to be burned, and forbad the reading of them.'

the great unmasker, &c. Cp the inscription placed under a portrait of Father Paul by Sir Henry Wotton: 'Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator.' See Holt White. In *Of Reformation in England*, p. 13 of *Works*, Milton calls him 'the great Venetian antagonist of the Pope;' also 'the great and learned Padre Paolo.'

the Trentine Council, which first met Dec. 13, 1545, was finally dissolved Dec. 4, 1563. [Where is Trent?]

11. *after which time, &c.* On the growth of the power of the Popes in the ninth and tenth centuries, see Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vols. iii and iv. This growth was not without interruptions. It reached its greatest height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For the immediate illustration of the text, see, for instance, Milman's account of Pope Nicholas I (858-867).

the Popes of Rome. The title Pope was originally given to all bishops. It was confined to the prelates of Rome by the order of Phocas, Emperor of the East, at the instance of Boniface III, 606 A.D.

engrossing. *Engross* = to buy in large quantities of corn, or of anything.

Cp. *engrosser* = *grocer*, which means properly one who buys in large quantities. See *Prompt. Parv. s. v. grocere*, where Way quotes from 37 Edw. III. 1363, respecting 'merchauntz nomez grossers,' so called because they 'Engrossent totes maners des marchandises vendables.' As such large purchases were commonly made with a view to raising the price of the commodity, the word *engross* came to have a bad meaning. (Cp. *forestalling, regrating, badgering*.) See *Blackstone* and *Craik's History of British Commerce*, i. 133-135.

15. *fansied*. This spelling comes nearer to the original *phantasy*, *phantasia*, of which *fancy* is a contracted form.

17. *Martin the 5* (Otto Colonna) was Pope 1417-1431. See *Milman*.

Bull. *Bulla*, meaning in classical Latin a round boss-like object, and especially the ornamental boss worn round the necks by Roman boys, came in the Middle Ages to be used specially of the waxen (originally leaden) seal attached by a band to legal instruments, and then of the instrument itself.

18. [What is meant by *excommunicated* the reading? Explain the word *excommunicated*.]

19. *Wicklef*, born circ. 1324, died Dec. 31, 1384. See *Milman*, viii. c. 6; *Lebas' Life of Wyclif*; *Shirley's Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, T. Arnold's *Wyclif's Eng. Works, &c.* See *Of Reformation in England*: 'Although indeed our Wycliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the Pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns,' &c.

Huss, born circ. 1376, burnt at the stake July 7, 1415. See *Milman*.

22. *Leo the 10* (John de Medici) was Pope from 1513-1521. See *Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth*.

24. *perfeted*. So 'perfet' in *Lycidas*, ed. 1637. It is the Fr. *parfait*.

25. *expurgating Indexes*. The *Index Expurgatorius*, first made by the Inquisitors in Italy, was approved by the Council of Trent in 1559. See *Sarpi*, p. 476, ed. 1620.

29. *in a prohibition*. There was, and is, an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* as well as an *Index Expurgatorius*.

30. *Purgatory*. On the growth of this belief, see *Milman*, ix. c. 2.

[What is meant by *strait* here? Explain the word.]

31. *encroachment*. The root is *croc*: 'mot d'origine germanique (néerlandais *krok*, *croc*). D. *crochet*, *crochu*, *croché*, *accrocher*, *décrocher*.' (Brachet.) The radical meaning therefore is 'a hooking on to,' 'a seizing with a hook'; cp. *Piers the Plowman*, Text B. viii. 95, ed. Skeat; whence generally 'a seizing'; so that the verb ought to be used with a direct object. And so it is in older English; see *Richardson's Dictionary*. Thus Bale in his *Pageant of Popes* speaks of 'the monks who had *encroached* their places'; Drayton in his *Barons' Wars of*

'their unbridled rage

That did our ancient liberty *encroach*.'

'To encroach upon' is then an inaccurate phrase; probably formed by a false analogy from 'to trespass on,' &c.

P. 11. 3. *glutton Friers*. The epithet is somewhat truculent. See *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, l. 67, ed. Skeat.

glutton = Fr. *glouton*, Lat. *glutto*.

7. *Vicar* means literally one who acts in place of another, a delegate; cp. *vicarious*, *viceroy*, *vicegerent*, &c. With the use here cp. our Eng. 'vicar-general' = 'an officer having powers from the chancellor of a diocese.'

8. *athwart* = across, at variance with (the Ital. has 'contro'); etymologically = *on-thwart*, on-cross, cross-wise. Cp. *a* in *across*, *ashore*, *aloft*, *aboard*, &c. (The prefix *a* has no less than twelve different meanings. See Morris and Skeat's *Specimens of Early Eng.* Part II, 2nd ed. p. xxxv.)

9. [What is the proper meaning of the word *Catholic*?]

manners = Lat. *mores*. So 1 Cor. xv. 33; cp. Goldsmith's *Traveller*, 127, &c.

12. *relation* = Ital. *relazione*.

13. *Davanzati*. Bernardo Davanzati Bostichi, of Florence, born 1529, died 1606. He wrote several works, *Scisma d'Inghilterra*, *La coltivazione toscana*, &c.; see Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*. For some account of his translation of Tacitus, said to have been 'accomplished in fewer words than the original,' see Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, ii. 402. The book referred to in the text was his *Scisma d'Inghilterra con altre operette*, printed at Florence in 1638. On the last page of the original edition, after the *Errata*, may be seen the passages here translated. The book may have been published during Milton's stay at Florence. Obviously the subject would attract his notice.

15. *It may be printed*. 'Si puo stampare.' In the original this *Imprimatur* is signed also by 'Alessandro Vettori Senatore Auditor di S. A. S.'

19. *broke prison*. The full phrase occurs in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, i. 2. 36: 'break the locks of prison gates.'

exorcism, *ἐξορκισμός* = an administering an oath to—a 'swearing'—any one, a binding by oath. The common modern sense of the word was acquired in Ecclesiastical Greek.

23. [What is the grammatical construction of *the Roman stamp*?]

P. 12. 1. *Piatza* = market-place, meeting-place, *ἀγορά*; = Sp. *plaza*, Fr. *place*, Germ. *platz*, from the Gr. *πλατεῖα*; see Diez. Shakspere seems to use *place* in this sense in *The Taming of the Shrew*, i. 1. 'Padua, a public place'; see C. A. Brown's *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems*, p. 104.

complementing. The word coupled with this word—*ducking*—would seem to shew that our *complimenting* is here meant. But some sort of word-play may be intended. In derivation *complement* and *compliment* are not akin, the former being ultimately connected with *compleo*, the latter with *complico*.

ducking. See *Comus*, 960-2:

'Here be without *duck* or *nod*,
Other *trippings* to be *trod*
Of lighter *toes*,' &c.

Richard III, i. 3-49:

'Duck with French nods and apish courtesy.'

King Lear, ii. 2. 109:

'twenty silly ducking observants
That stretch their duties nicely.'

Todd on *Comus*, l. c., quotes from Brathwaite's *English Gentleman* (p. 324, ed. 1641): 'a scru'd face, an artfull cringe, or an *Italionate duck*.' *Duck* means originally to bow, stoop, &c. Cp. Germ. *ducken*, and also *tauchen*. The *duck* is the head-stooping, the dipping bird; cp. Germ. *taucher*.

2. with their *shav'n reverences*, i. e. with their tonsured heads making signs of reverence. The language is somewhat pleonastic. Observe the boldness of the personification.

4. *the spunge*. Par. Reg. iv. 329, where see Mr. Jerram's note. So 'spunged out,' Hooker's *Eccles. Pol.*, v. 19, &c. See Suetonius' life of Augustus, where the emperor tells those who made enquiries after a play he had begun to write, 'Ajacem suum in *spongiam* incubuisse.' Quite different in derivation, though similar in meaning, is *expunge*.

5. *responsories* is a secondary substantive formed from *responses*. Jeremy Taylor speaks of 'that *responsory* in the Roman breviary,' &c (Rule of Conscience, iii. 3. 6); see Richardson.

antiphonies. The word *anthem* is a corruption of Eccl. Lat. *antiphona*, = Gk. ἀντίφωνον. The A.-S. form was *antefne*, which became *antemne* (cf. *woman* from *wifman*, *Lammas* from *Hlæfmaesse*); whence *anthem* (cf. *Anthony*, &c.).

8. one from *Lambeth house*, &c. 'Pursuant to the decree of the Star Chamber in 1637 concerning the Press, all books of Divinity, Physic Philosophy and Poetry were licensed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, or by substitutes of their appointment. This document is in Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* iii. 306, Appendix; and is reprinted in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, p. 641.' (Holt White.)

Lambeth house, the residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 'from at least the thirteenth century.' (Cunningham.)

9. *the west end of Pauls*. The Bishop of London had once a palace in the precincts of St. Paul's, 'bordering on the church'; see Milman's *St. Paul's*, p. 131. See it mentioned in More's *Edw. V* and *Rich. III*: 'the Bishop of London's palace near St. Paul's church.'

12. *would cast no ink*. Cp. the Americanism 'to sling ink.'

13. *no vulgar tongue*. So all modern languages were called in contradistinction to Latin, the language of the learned.

14. *the pure conceit of an Imprimatur*. Cp. 'lordly *Imprimatur*' just above; and in The Remonstrant's Defence: 'your proud *Imprimaturs* not to be obtained without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow-souled, and illiterate chaplain.'

conceit = idea, notion, thought. So commonly in Eliz. Eng., as *M. of Ven.* l. i. 92, &c.

18. *dictatorie*. We should say *dictatorial*. So 'professory learning' in Bacon's *Adv. of Learning*, p. 79, Clar. Press Ed.

[Parse English here.]

19. *ript up* = torn open and investigated, exposed. So *Faerie Queene*, i. 7. 39:

'Such helplesse harmes yts better hidden keep

Then *rip up* grieve, where it may not availe.'

See other instances from Jewell, Hackluyt, North, &c., *apud* Richardson.

21. [What is the grammatical construction of *that can be heard of?*]

23. *ancestors* is ultimately a corruption of *antecessores* = fore-goers, through the French.

28. *birth* is here used in a concrete sense; so *partus* in Latin, &c. So *Paradise Lost*, v. 180:

'Air and ye elements, the eldest *birth*
Of nature's womb,' &c.

Tennyson's *Godiva*:

'Not only we, the latest *birth* of time,' &c.

no envious Juno &c. See the story of Hercules' birth. When in her travail Alcmena cried out for Ilithyia, Ilithyia came, but not to succour, for Hera had pledged her to retard. She sat cross-legged at the door, muttering spells. One of Alcmena's maidens, seeing her obstructiveness, deceived her by pretending that the mother's pains were over; whereupon startled she changed her posture, and then at once Hercules was born. See Alcmena's own account of this wrong, and how it was outwitted, and how the goddess avenged herself, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 281-323: especially 297-301:

'Utque meos audit gemitus, subsedit in illa

Ante fores ara; dextroque in poplite laevum

Pressa genu, digitis inter se pectine junctis,

Sustinuit nixus. Tacita quoque carmina voce

Dixit, et incepitos tenuerunt carmina nixus.'

Hom. Il. xix. 119. See also Prior's *Anc. Dan. Ballads*, ii. 364-7. Mr. Lobb aptly quotes Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, v. 23. 9: 'To sit cross-legged, or with our fingers pectinated or shut together, is accounted bad, and friends will persuade us from it. The same conceit religiously possessed the ancients, as is observable from Pliny: "poplites alternis genibus imponere nefas olim;" and also from Athenaeus that it was an old venomous practice, and Juno is made in this posture to hinder the delivery of Alcmena,' &c. See Le Bas' *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 38, ed. 1836: 'His [Laud's] old detractor Archbishop Abbot had been constantly on the spot, *sitting cross-legged* (if the phrase may be allowed) upon the fortunes of the *Papist*, and providing him with abundant opportunities of showing how well he could endure the pains of hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick.' Also Peele's *Edw. I*, p. 409, ed. Dyce.

33. [in wors condition, &c. How so?]

should be to stand, &c. We could say 'it was to stand,' &c. Comp. 2 Hen. VI, II. iii. 28.

P. 13. 1. *ere it be borne to the world.* The belief in our antenatal existence was held by Plato and others. See e. g. the passage in Plato's Republic, p. 618, of yet unbodied souls choosing the lives they will lead: *σφᾶς οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ἀφικέσθαι, εὐθὺς δεῖν λέναι πρὸς τὴν Δάχεσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

2. *yet in darkness*, that is, while still in darkness. See p. 3, l. 33.

Rhadamanth was one of the three great Justices of Hades, according to Greek myths. His colleagues were Minos and Aiakos. See the Latin poets, *passim*, as Vergil, Aeneid, vi. 565:

'Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet, durissima regna,
Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri,
Quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.'

3. *the ferry.* See Aeneid, vi. 295-330, &c.; Richard III, i. 4. 46-8:

'Who pass'd methought the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferrymen which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.'

4. *that mysterious iniquity.* See Revelation xvii. 5, of the woman 'arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls': 'Upon her forehead was a name written, *Mystery*, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth,' &c. The Church reformers of the sixteenth century confidently identified this woman with the Papacy.

6. *limbo's.* In classical Latin *limbus*=a border, a fringe, &c.; as in Vergil, Aeneid, iv. 137. In the Middle Ages it was used to denote a border land of hell, the infernal 'marches.' 'The old schoolman supposed there to be, besides hell (*infernus damnatorum*), 1. a *limbus puerorum*, where the souls of infants unbaptized remained [cp. Vergil's "limen primum" of Hades, Aeneid, vi. 426-433]; 2. a *limbus patrum*, where the fathers of the church, saints, and martyrs awaited the general resurrection; [see De Doctrina Christiana, chap. xiii, and Apology for Smectymnuus, &c.]; and 3. Purgatory. To which in popular opinion was added, 4. a *limbus fatuorum*, or fool's paradise, the receptacle of all vanity and nonsense.' (Nares.) See Dante's Inferno, iv, where the poet enters Limbo, the first circle of Hell, and his guide explains that it is the region of such as himself, who 'before the Gospel lived.' (Cary.) See especially Paradise Lost, iii. 440-497, for sense No. 4. (Milton contradicts those who placed that paradise in the moon, as e. g. Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 70, &c., whom Pope follows in the Rape of the Lock, canto v.) Commonly limbo was used for hell itself; so Shakspere, All's well that ends well, v. 3. 256: 'for indeed he was mad for her, and talked of Satan and of Limbo, and of Furies, and I know not what.' Faerie Queene, i. 2. 32.

'What voice of damned ghost from *limbo* lake?'

In the Comedy of Errors, iv. 2. 32, where Dromio of Syracuse describes his master who had just been arrested as

'in Tartar *limbo*, worse than hell.
A devil in an everlasting garment hath him;'

the 'border' is more fearful than the 'land' itself. In Henry VIII, v. 3. 67, *limbo Patrum* = prison.

9. *ilfavourdly* = unhandsomely, foully. *Favour* in Elizabethan English frequently = face, feature, 'looks;' thus Bacon's Essays, 43: 'In beauty, that of *favour* is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of *favour*,' &c. See Eastwood and Wright's Bible Word Book. As Craik suggests in his English of Shakespeare, *favour* came to mean *countenance* by the same 'natural transference of meaning' as *countenance* came to mean *favour*; (cp. 'the light of thy *countenance*', Psalm xliv. 3, &c.), i. e. *favour* is used for that which expresses *favour* = the countenance.

10. *inquisiturient*.—*turio* in Latin, whence the participle *-turient*, denotes a yearning or desire; thus *esurio* = I desire to eat, I hunger. These desiderative verbs are formed from the 'participle in *rus*,' thus *esurio* comes from *esurus* (stem *ed-*), *scripturio* from *scripturus*, &c. So *petiturire* (to long to be a candidate, Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i. 14), *parturire*, *empturire*, *Sullaturire*, *proscripturire* ('ita *Sullaturit* animus ejus et *proscripturit*', Cicero, *Ad Att.*, ix. 10. 6.). See Donaldson's *Varronianus*, p. 421; Key's Latin Grammar, pp. 135 and 136.

minorites, i. e. quasi minorites or friars. Cp. above, p. 11: 'Under the hands of two or three glutton *Friers*.' Strictly the Minorites were the Franciscan, or Grey Friars. See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vi. 34: 'The very name of his [St. Francis'] disciples, the Friar Minors, implied their humility.'

11. [What is meant by *these most certain authors*?]

18. *for all that*. This phrase is probably elliptical; fully, we should say 'for all that can do,' or 'for all that that weighs,' or 'for all that can be said on that head,' &c. See note on 'for all the morning light' in Longer English Poems, p. 218.

20. *light on* = to drop upon by accident, to find without effort. Slightly different is the sense in the Te Deum: 'O Lord, let thy mercy *lighten* upon us,' &c. This *light* is the A.-S. *lihtan*. *Alight*, of which the sense is not quite the same, is a compound.

23. [to no other purpose. What preposition should we rather use?]

25. *I am of those who*, &c. Cp. Samson's

'Nor am I in the list of them that hope.'

[What is the force of *of here*?] Macb. i. 3. 80.

26. *alchymy*, here distributively for a process or achievement of alchemy. For the derivation of the word, the *al-* is the Arabic 'article' (so the *al-* in *al-cohol*, *al-gebra*, *al-cove*, *al-embic*, *al-Cairo*, *al-Koran*, *al-kali*, perhaps in *al-batross*, the *el* in *el-ixir*); *-chemistry* is probably ultimately from the Gr. *χυμός*, juice, &c. In derivation then, *alchemistry* = *chemistry*; and in respect of what the two words denote, they are related to each other very much as are *astrology* and *astronomy*. The classical pieces of English literature that deal with alchemy are Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, and Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*.

Lullius = Raymond Lully, a famous writer on medicine and chemistry, and on other subjects, of the latter part of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth; born at Palma in Majorca in 1234, stoned to death in Mauretania in 1315 by the Mohammedans, whom he had zealously visited Africa to convert. See Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, p. 176, ed. Aldis Wright. On his missionary ardour, and what came of it, see Maclear's *History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages*, chap. xvi.

27. *sublimat* = extract. Technically 'to raise by the force of chemical fire.'

30. [for the tree, &c. What is the meaning of *for* here?]

32. He now passes on to his Second Point, see p. 67.

P. 14. 3. *Moses*. See *Acts* vii. 22: 'And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and deeds.'

3. *Daniel*. See *Daniel* i. 17: 'As for these four children [Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah = Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego] God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom; and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.'

4. *Paul*. It may perhaps be doubted whether St. Paul's Greek learning was so very extensive.

6. *in Paul* = in the case of Paul; so often *in* in Latin.

8. *the sentences of three Greek Poets*. See *Acts* xvii. 28 (from Aratos, or possibly Cleanthes); *1 Cor.* xv. 33; *Titus* i. 12 (from Epimenides). Cp. Sidney's *Apol. for Poetrie*, p. 58, ed. Arber.

the sentences = *sententiae*, *γνωμαι*.

9. *one of them a Tragedian*, i. e. Euripides. See Milton's Preface to *Samson Agonistes*, p. 204, vol. ii, Clar. Press Ed.: 'The Apostle Paul himself thought it not unworthy to insert a verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, *1 Cor. xv. 33*.' This line,

φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρῆσθ' ὄμιλαι κακαί,

is ascribed to Euripides by Sokrates in his *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 16. Jerome and Grotius assign it to the Thais of Menander; see Newton's and also Todd's note to *Samson Agonistes*, Preface. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paidagogos*, ii. 6. § 50) says indefinitely: *ἡ ποιητικὴ λέγει*; see Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici*, Euripides, Fragments, 962. That there should be any confusion is intelligible enough, if it is remembered how Menander was in fact the dramatic offspring of Euripides, and much resembled him in style.

11. *odds*. The first notion of the subst. *odd* seems to be a point, or something projecting (Norse *oddr*, &c.); hence it means what is eminent or singular in any way, &c. Here *odds* = advantage, superiority. So *Arcades*, 23:

‘Juno dares not give her *odds*.’

See Shakspere, *passim*, as *Winter's Tale*, v. 1. 207; *Henry V*, iv. 3. 5, &c. The adj. *odd* seems to be of different origin from the Welsh *od*, notable.

13. *Julian the Apostat*. See Gibbon, chap. xxiii, &c.

the Apostat. See Smith's Milman's Gibbon, iii. 136: 'The independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. . . . He was educated in the Lesser Asia amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy. . . . As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganism,' &c. Voltaire (Philosophical Dictionary, s. v. *Apostate*) says it is a question whether he was ever truly a Christian. Julian himself assures the Alexandrines he was so. See Mr. Lobb's note.

14. *a decree, &c.* See Smith's Milman's Gibbon, iii. 163. It prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. See it among the Epistles of Julian (xlvi). 'The Christians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the Pagans.' (Gibbon, l. c. note.) See Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, p. 49, ed. Aldis Wright: 'So again we find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the church were excellently read and studied in all the learning of the heathen; insomuch that the edict of the Emperor Julianus (whereby it was interdicted unto Christians to be admitted into Schools, lectures, or exercises of learning) was esteemed and accounted a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian faith than were all the sanguinary prosecutions of his predecessors.'

for, said he, &c. 'He vainly contends that, if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galileans.' (Gibbon, l. c.)

18. *shifts.* The radical notion of the word *shift* is division, change, &c.; or the A.-S. *scyftan* is cognate with Icel. *skifta*, ultimately with *shed* (in water-shed), $\sigma\chiι\varsigma\omega$, *scindo*, &c.; and in this radical sense the verb is still common enough. Then it came to mean a change of plan, a ready device, &c. See Titus Andronicus, iv. 2. 176:

‘For it is you that puts us to our *shifts*.’

Cp. the Gr. $\pi\alpha\pi\tau\circ\delta\circ\pi$ $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, as Herodotus, ix. 109; so $\pi\alpha\pi\tau\circ\delta\circ\pi\circ\pi$ $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, Plato, *Republic*, 398 A.

[19. *in danger to decline.* What construction should we rather use?]

22. *the two Apollinarii* = Apollinarios of Alexandria and his son the Bishop of Alexandria. The Christians, says Gibbon, in a note to the passage of the text describing Julian's oppressions, 'had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations of Homer (a sacred history in twenty-four books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is satisfied that they equalled or excelled the originals.' Apollinaris is the Latin, Apollinarios the Greek form of the name.

20. *fain* is the A.-S. *fægen*, joyful. Cp. *hail* and *hægel*, *nail* and *nægel*, *stile* and *stigel*, &c.

21. *the seven liberall sciences* = the 'trivium' and 'quadrivium.'

‘Gramm. loquitur; *Dia.* vera docet; *Rhet.* verba colorat;
Mus. canit; *Ar.* numerat; *Geo.* ponderat; *Ast.* colit astra.’

See Hallam’s Lit. of Europe, i. 4 n. ed. 1837.

24. *the Historian Socrates.* See his Ecclesiastical History, iii. 16. This Sokrates ‘flourished’ in the fifth century. His Church History was a continuation of that of Eusebius down to 440 A.D.

26. *by taking away, &c.* Julian died in 363. Jovian, who was elected to succeed him, proclaimed universal toleration. ‘Under his reign Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory.’ (Gibbon.)

30. *decaying.* Observe the causative use of *decay* here. So Surrey, The Constant Lover Lamenteth:

‘And now though on the sunne I drive

Whose fervent flame all things *decays.*’ &c.

(*upud* Richardson). The verb is properly neuter, derived ultimately from the Lat. *decadere*. Cp. the causative uses of the 2nd aorist of *λανθάνω* and *λεγχάνω*. Perhaps the verb in the text should be taken as a mere verb-alising of the noun, as is common in Elizabethan English; = afflict with decay, &c. Cp. e.g. ‘smile you my speeches?’ in King Lear, ii. 2. 88.

31. *Decius* was emperor from 249 to 251. See Milman’s History of Christianity, vol. ii.

Dioclesian. Emperor 284-305.

32. *St. Jerom.* Born circ. 345, died 420. His Life has been written by Erasmus, Stigelius, Siguenza, Martianay, Collombet (Hole’s Biographical Dictionary); see Milman’s Christianity, iii. 190-237. The Vulgate translation of the Bible is commonly attributed to him.

that the Divell, &c. See Jerome’s *Epistolae*, 18, ‘Ad Eustochium de Virginit.’ Epistle xxii. in Migne’s *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*; see vol. i. of Hieronymi Opera, pp. 394-425. The letter was written in 384. In a dream he thought himself brought before the tribunal of Heaven; and when, in answer to the question of what profession he was, he said he was a Christian, ‘Thou liest,’ cried the judge; ‘thou art a Ciceronian, for the works of that author possess thy heart;’ and thereupon condemned him to be severely scourged by angels. See Butler’s Lives of the Saints; also Sarpi’s Council of Trent, p. 472, ed. 1620.

33. *in a lenten dream.* It was dreamed by him when seized by a fever one Lent. See the letter to the nun Eustochium: ‘Dum ita me antiquus serpens [al. hostis] illuderet [he could not give up his old library], in media ferme Quadragesima medullis infusa febris corpus invasit exhaustum et sine ulla requie (quod dictu quoque incredibile est) sic infelicia membra depasta est ut ossibus vix haererem,’ &c.

P. 15. 1. *seis’d* = possessed, as still in law language. *Seize* is from the Fr. *saisir*, which is from the Low Lat. *sacire*, which is from the O. H. G. *sazjan*, H. G. *besetzen*. See Brachet.

3. *Ciceronianisms.* On the Ciceronianism of the Renaissance, see

Hallam's Literature of Europe, i. chap. 5, and the chapter in Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, 'History of Roman Literature,' pp. 321-325.

[4. Explain the reading, not the vanity.]

6. *not for scurrill Plautus, &c.* See the Epistle ad Eustochium: 'Itaque miser ego lecturus Tullium jejunabam. Post noctium crebras vigilias, post lacrymas, quas mihi praeteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis visceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manus.'

scurrill. Milton seems to have used this form to avoid the occurrence of the same sound at the end of two contiguous words. To his ear such a recurrence as *Scurrillous Plautus* would be offensive. See his ridicule of Bishop Hall's 'teach each':

'Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
Wearying echo with one changeless word.'

pp. 91, 92 of Werks. But *scurrill* is found elsewhere; e.g. in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, v. 1. 136, ed. Skeat.

8. *so many more ancient Fathers.* E.g. St. Augustine.

10. *Basil*, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia from 370-379.

11. *Margites . . . writ by Homer.* 'The Margites bears the same relation to comedy that the Iliad and Odyssey bear to tragedy.' (Aristotle, Poetics, chap. iv.) See Müller's Literature of Greece, &c. The ancients agreed in assigning its authorship to Homer, but without authority. One or two lines are preserved, as the well-known one:

πόλλα' ἡπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἡπίστατο πάντα.

See another in Aristotle, Ethics, vi. 7.

13. *Morgante.* The Morgante Maggiore of Luigi Pulci, printed at Venice in 1488. See Hallam's Literature of Europe, i. 270-273 and 421; Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici; Sismondi's Literature of Southern Europe, &c. 'The Morgante is generally regarded as the prototype of the "Orlando Furioso" of Ariosto.' (Roscoe.) See a translation of the first book in Byron's works.

much to the same purpose. 'It has been a question among Italian critics whether the poem of Pulci is to be reckoned burlesque,' &c. (Hallam, i. c.)

15. *Eusebius*, born in Palestine circ. 264, chosen Bishop of Caesarea circ. 315, died circ. 340.

ancienter. 'Ascham writes *inventivest*; Bacon *honourablest* and *ancienter*; Fuller *eminenteſt*, *eloquenter*, *learnedſt*, *solemnneſt*, *famousſt*, *virtuousneſt*, with the comparative and superlative adverbs *wiselier*, *easilier*, *hardliſt*; Sidney even uses *repiningeſt*; Coleridge *safeliſt*.' (Marsh.) See also Morris' English Accidence, chap. xi.

17. *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria 247-265.

19. *had wont* = had accustomed himself = the more usual *was wont*.

[20. What is the force of *avail* here?]

21. *conversant* = well versed. See above p. 8, 1. 6.

24. *to give offence* = to cause any one to stumble, to be a *σκάνδαλον*; as,

passim, in the New Testament, Authorised Version, e. g. Romans ix. 33; 1 Peter ii. 8, &c.

31. *answerable*. See note on 'variable' in Longer English Poems, Spenser's *Prothalamion*, 13.

that of the Apostle, &c. See 1 Thessalonians v. 21.

32. *prove*=test. So Luke xiv. 19, &c. So 'the exception *proves* the rule.' P. 10. 1. *another remarkable saying*. See Titus i. 15.

6. *viands*=victuals. Each word is derived from Lat. *vivo*. Sir Thomas More uses the singular (*viande*); see Richardson.

7. *in that unapocryphall vision*. See Acts x. 9-16.

11. *naughty*=lit. of naught, good for nothing. See Shakspere, *passim*, as Merchant of Venice, v. 1. 91. So 'naughty figs,' Jeremiah xxiv. 2.

14. *concoction*. See 'concoct' in *Paradise Lost*, v. 412, and 'concoctive heat,' ib. 437.

20. *Selden* was born 1584, died 1654. His life has been written by Wilkins (1726), Aikin (1773), and Johnson (1835). See also Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii. 334, &c.; *Constitutional History*, &c. He was 'now sitting in Parliament' for Oxford University.

whose volume of naturall and national laws, &c.=his *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*, published in 1640. See Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, l. c. Hallam speaks of the 'superb display of erudition, especially oriental,' with which his work is illustrated, of his 'unparalleled stores of erudition,' &c. The words Milton particularly refers to are perhaps these on p. 2 of the 1641 edition of the work. He insists that men should collect all opinions, however discrepant with their own, and this 'non sine causis certe gravissimis. Nam non sua modo sic auxiliaribus suffragiis haud parum firmant sed et insuper adversa refellendi, obscuriores quae suas dissidentesque sententias intermeant confiniorum ipsissimas lineas detegendi designandique . . . ansam commodius arripiunt.' Milton again quotes the work in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, speaking of it there as 'that nobie volume written by our learned Selden . . . a work more useful and more worthy to be perused by whosoever studies to be a great man in wisdom than all those decretals and sunless sums which the pontifical clerks have doted on.'

22. *exquisite*=carefully sought out, as in Latin; thus, '*exquisitiis rati-onibus confirmare*,' Cicero, *De Finibus*, i. 9. 30.

theorems. We commonly use 'theory' with this meaning; but strictly 'theory' is abstract, 'theorem' is concrete, as in Euclid. Cp. 'telegraphy' and 'telegram,' &c. We use 'speculation' in both senses.

[24. Explain *collated*.]

27. *saving ever the rules of temperance*. See *Paradise Lost*. xi. 530-538:

'There is, said Michael, if thou well observe

The rule of *not too much*, by temperance taught

In what thou eatest and drinkest, seeking from thence

Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,' &c.

29. *repasting*. See Hamlet, iv. 5. 145-148:

‘To his good friends thus wide I'll ope my arms;
And like the kind life-rendering pelican
Repast them with my blood.’

Pope's Homer, xxiv:

‘And now they reach'd the naval walls, and found
The guards *repasting*, while the bowls go round.’

(*apud* Richardson s. v.)

31. *How great a virtue*, &c. It was one of the four cardinal virtues. (See *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 104, Clar. Press ed.)

P. 17. 2. *demeanour* = management. The ultimate stem of *demean* is the Lat. *minare*.

[3. Explain *tabl'd* here.]

4. *Omer*. See Exodus xvi. The *omer* is mentioned only in Exodus. (The *homer*—a much larger measure—several times in the Bible, as Leviticus xxvii. 16, &c.) Its absolute value is given by Josephus as .8669 gall., by the Rabbiniasts as .4428 gall. See Smith's Bible Dict.

7. *which enter into a man*, &c. See Matthew xv. 17-20; Mark vii. 14-23.

10. *to be his own chooser*. See Paradise Lost, iii. 97-99:

‘Ingrate, he had of me

All he could have. I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, through free to fall.’

14. *that much reading*, &c. See Ecclesiastes xii. 12.

19. *As for the burning*, &c. See Acts xix. 19; Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul, People's Edition, ii. 13-17. See also Smith's Dict. of Biog., s. n. Alexander of Tralles.

[25. Explain *practiz'd the books*.]

31. *those confused seeds*, &c. See the story of Cupid and Psyche in The Golden Ass of Apuleius, books iv-vi. Psyche has fallen into the hands of Venus, who is wroth with her for having won the love of her son Cupid, and afflicts her grievously. She bids Anxiety and Sorrow scourge and torment her. After further abuse, Venus ‘flew upon her, tore her clothes in a great many places, pulled out her hair, shook her by the head, and grievously maltreated her. Then taking wheat, barley, millet, poppy, vetches, lentils and beans, and mixing them altogether in one heap, she said to her: “You seem to me, such an ugly slave as you now are, to be likely to gain lovers in no other way than by diligent drudgery. I will therefore myself, for once, make trial of your industrious habits. Take and separate this promiscuous mass of seeds, and having properly placed each grain in its place, and so sorted the whole, give me proof of your expedition by finishing the task before evening.”’ Then having delivered over to her the vast heap of seeds, she at once took her departure for a nuptial banquet. But Psyche, astounded at the stupendous task, sat silent and stupefied, and did not move a hand to the confused and inextricable mass. Just then a tiny ant, one of

the inhabitants of the fields, became aware of this prodigious difficulty, and pitying the distress of the partner of the mighty god, and execrating the mother-in-law's cruelty, it ran busily about and summoned together the whole tribe of ants in the neighbourhood, crying to them, "Take pity on her, ye active children of the all-producing earth. Take pity, and make haste to help the wife of Love, a pretty damsel, who is now in a perilous situation." Immediately the six-footed people came rushing in whole waves, one upon another, and with the greatest diligence separated the whole heap, grain by grain. Then having assorted the various kinds into different heaps, they vanished forthwith. At night-fall Venus returned home from the nuptial banquet, exhilarated with wine, fragrant with balsams, and having her waist encircled with blooming roses. As soon as she saw with what marvellous expedition the task had been executed, "This is no work of your hands, wicked creature," she said, "but his whom you have charmed, to your sorrow and his," and throwing her a piece of coarse bread, she went to bed.' (Bohn's Class. Lib., Apuleius, p. 116.)

P. 18. 1. *sort asunder* = arrange in sorts or classes.

2. *from out the rinde*, &c. See Genesis iii. 5, and 22; Paradise Lost, 780-1011.

5. *that doom*, &c. See Genesis ii. 16, 17.

11. Notice the emphasis given by the triple repetition of *and yet*.

12. *the true warfaring Christian*. In the edition of 1644 the reading is *wayfaring*. 'Baron,' says Holt White, 'who saw the quarto edition of the prose works through the press, unwarrantably changed "wayfaring" into "warfaring." There was no need of emendation—"wayfaring" is in opposition to "cloister'd." It is beside more consonant to Scripture, and therefore more likely to have come from Milton: "The wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." Isaiah ch. 35. v. 8.' But (1) there is some warrant for the change, as I can show, whether Baron knew it or not; and (2) the change is certainly an improvement. The warrant is to be found in a copy of the *Areopagitica* presented by Milton himself to one Thomason ('ex dono Authoris' is written in Thomason's hand on the title-page), now preserved in the British Museum (Press-mark 182 E 18), where the 'y' is crossed out and 'r' written above, credibly by the author himself. See *The Athenæum* for Oct. 11, 1873. That the change is an improvement the context, I think, makes clear. *Wayfaring* is not an adequate word for the occasion. It does not imply such activity and resistance as the context demands. More than mere movement must be expressed. It is of the Christian militant and struggling that Milton speaks. Cp. Bishop Hall's *Contemplations*, *Gideon's Preparation and Victory*: 'How many make a glorious show in the *warfaring* church which when they shall see danger of persecution shall shrink from the standard of God?' Hooker also has the word, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, viii; see Richardson.

13. *I cannot praise*, &c. Cp. what Cicero says of oratory, *De Oratore*, i 34. 157: 'Educenda deinde dictio est ex hac domestica exercitatione et

umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra atque aciem forensem.'

16. *that immortall garland.* That = that famous; so Lat. *ille*, as Cicero, de Oratore, ii. 14. 58: 'Xenophon, Sokraticus *ille*,' &c.; and Greek *ἐκεῖνος*, as Homer, Iliad, xxiv. 90:

Τίπτε με κεῖνος ἀναργε μέγας θεός;

not without dust and heat. Compare Horace, Ad Pisones, 412-413:

'Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.'

23. *a blank virtue* = a colourless, neutral, ineffectual thing.

24. *but an excrementall whiteness* = is but superficial, not essential, only 'skin-deep.' (Mr. Lobb.) A mere outgrowth. *Excrement* = excrescence = an outgrowth. See Comedy of Errors, ii. 2. 79: 'Why is Time such a niggard of hair, being, as it is, so plentiful an *excrement*?' &c. So 'my pedlar's *excrement*' (=my pedlar's beard) in Winter's Tale, iv. 4. 733. See Nares' Glossary.

25. *our sage and serious Poet Spenser*, &c. Milton told Dryden that Spenser was his 'original.' (See Dryden's Fables, Preface.) Without any such confession, it would have been evident from Milton's earlier works how great was the influence of Spenser over his youthful mind. To say nothing of numerous Spenserian echoes that may be detected, it is to the Faerie Queene that he especially alludes in Il Penseroso after his mention of the Squire's Tale of Chaucer:

'If aught else great bards beside
In sage and solemn tunes have sung
Of turneys and of trophies hung,
Of forests and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.'

He quotes at length from the fifth book of the Shepherd's Calendar in his Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence, &c.: 'Let the novice learn first to renounce the world, and so give himself to God, and not therefore give himself to God that he may close the better with the world, like that false Palinode in the Eclogue of May, under whom the poet lively personates our prelates, whose whole life is a recantation of their pastoral vow, and whose profession to forsake the world, as they use the matter, bogs them deeper into the world. Those our admired Spenser inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times:

'The time was once and may again return

(For oft may happen that hath been beforne),' &c.

26. *a better teacher*, &c. Cp. Horace, Epistles, i. 2. 3, 4, of Homer

'Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.'

Scotus = John Duns Scotus, the famous schoolman, whose second name has to unfairly acquired the sense of dullard, born circ. 1265, died at Cologne

1308. Be sure not to confound him, as is sometimes done, with Johannes Scotus Erigena of the ninth century.

27. *Aquinas*. 'The Angelic Doctor,' the 'Angel of the Schools,' born circ. 1224, died 1274. On certain radical questions of thought his views were exactly opposed to those presently urged by Scotus. See Butler's *Hudibras*, i. 151, ed. Zachary Grey:

'In school divinity as able
As he that hight Irrefragable;
A second *Thomas*, or at once,
To name them all, another *Dunce*;
Profound in all the nominal
And real ways, beyond them all;
For he a rope of sand could twist
As tough as learned Sorbonist;
And weave fine cobwebs fit for skull
That's empty when the moon is full;
Such as take lodgings in a head
That's to be let unfurnished.'

28. *Guion*. See *Faerie Queene*, ii.

with his palmer. The Palmer was *not* with him in the Cave of Mammon; see ii. 8. 3. For a description of the Palmer see ii. 1. 7.

29. *the Cave of Mammon*. See ii. 7. 26-66.

the Bower of Earthly Bliss. See ii. 12.

P. 19. 2. *scout* is from Old Fr. *escouter* = Lat. *auscultare*. *Paradise Lost*.
ii. 131:—

'Oft on the bordering Deep
Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night
Scorning surprise.'

For the noun see *Paradise Lost*, iii. 543-554. In *Comus* 138 the Morning is described as 'the babbling eastern *scout*.' *Scout*, to reject with disdain, is a quite different word.

4. *tractat*. The Latin word is 'Classical' in this sense, as Pliny, xiv. 4. 5: 'Separatim toto *tractatu* sententia ejus judicanda est.' Our *tract* is a mere abbreviation of *tractate*. *Treatise* comes from the same stem through the French.

10. [for that oftimes, &c. Illustrate what is said here.]

11. *not nicely* = in a plain-spoken way, without mincing. See what is said of God's 'tart rhetoric' in *An Apology for Simectynnuus*. On *nice* see Mr. Jerram's note to *Par. Reg.* iv. 157.

12. *not unelegantly*, i. e. elaborately.

it brings in holiest men, &c. See the book of Job.

19. *Talmudest*. On the Babylonian Talmud see Milman's *History of the Jews*, iii. 4-6. On both Talmuds—the 'Gemara' of Jerusalem, as well as that of Babylon—see Smith's *Bible Dict.*, s. v. *Talmud*. See also *Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*. The name means 'doctrine.'

what ails, &c. 'What is the matter with, or the character of the modesty of his marginal readings?' &c. So The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce: 'But when I was told that the style (which *what it ails* to be so soon distinguishable I cannot tell),' &c.

17. *his marginall Keri, &c.* The language of the text (*Chetiv, or cethib* =written), when it seemed too strong or plain, was glossed in the margin, (*Keri* =read); see An Apology for Smectymnus, where is discussed the outspoken phraseology of Scripture. (Works, p. 84.) Are we to believe 'that Jonathan or Onkelos the targumists were of cleaner language than he that made the tongue?' Mentioning a special case, and remonstrating against any enfeebling substitution, he continues: 'Whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plain word might easily have been forborn; which the masoreths and rabbincal scholiasts, not well attending, have often used to blur the margin with *Keri* instead of *Ketiv*, and gave us this insulce rule out of their Talmud, "That all words which in the law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words;" fools who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad hath leave and authority oftentimes to utter such words and phrases, as in common talk were not mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the historian speaks, "that all those things for which men plough, build, or sail, obey virtue," but that all words, and whatsoever may be spoken, shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.' Holt White quotes also Defensio Secunda: 'Non Prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immo nonnunquam plane obscaenam censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis et Rabinis pro eo quod diserte scriptum est suum libet *Keri* adscribere. Ad me quod attinet fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυρήμονα quam cum futilibus Rabinis εύσχήμονα esse.'

22. *Clement of Alexandria.* See Mosheim, i. 52, Of the Second Century. His Hortatory Address to the Greeks (*Δόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Ελληνας*) dealt with the impurities of polytheism.

Eusebius, born circ. 264 in Palestine, died circ. 340. Besides The Evangelical Preparation (*Εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως προπαρασκευή*), the work here referred to, he wrote an Ecclesiastical History, Life of Constantine, The Chronicon, &c. See Mosheim.

[23. Explain transmitting our ears, &c.]

25. *Irenaeus*, chosen bishop of Lyons in 177. All his works are lost except that against Heresies, which is preserved in a Latin version.

Epiphanius, chosen bishop of Salamis in Cyprus in 367. His work entitled Panarium was written against all the heresies that were.

26. *discover* =uncover, display, exhibit, as Mer. of Ven. ii. 6. 7.

31. *writ.* This form of the preterite is probably due to the tendency to assimilate perfect and past-participial forms, assisted by the fact that the plur.

form of certain verbs contained the vowel of the past-participle. Thus the pl. pret. of *write* was *writen*. See Morris and Skeat's *Specimens*, vol. ii. p. xxxiii. (The A.-S. pret. is *wrāt*.) So in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find *driv* = drove, *smit* = smote, *rid* = rode, *ris* = rose; see *Morris's English Accidence*, p. 165.

P. 20. 3. *criticisms* = refinements, niceties, 'elegantiae,' &c.; the sins which a critic accomplished in that line would select as choice and laudable. So *criticism* here = not a judgment or sentence, but that which is selected by a judgment. Cp. Tacitus' 'eruditio luxu' of Petronius, and the quotation in the following note.

4. *Petronius*, died by 'necessity' in 66. See Tacitus, *Annals*, xvi. 18, 19: 'Inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, *elegantiae arbiter*, dum nihil amoenum et molle adfluentia putat nisi ei Petronius adprobavisset.'

the Master of his Revels. This was an official title in Tudor England. See Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*.

5. *That notorious ribald of Arezzo* — Aretino, 1492-1557. See Roscoe's *Leo the Tenth*, ii. 271-6: 'The life of Aretino may be denominated the triumph of effrontery.' See Milton's *Commonplace Book*, published by the *Camden Society*.

ribald, Fr. *ribaud*, It. *ribaldo*, is derived ultimately from an old Germ. word meaning a prostitute, with the suffix *ald*; see Diez's *Rom. Lexicon*. For the medieval use of the word Diez quotes from Matthew Paris: 'fures, exules, fugitivi, excommunicati, quos omnes *ribaldos* Francia vulgariter consuevit appellare.'

dreaded, &c. The pungency of his satires made him formidable to the objects of them, as it also made them intensely popular with the general reader. Sometimes he was bribed into silence; once or twice soundly flogged.

7. *for posterities sake*. This would seem to mean that some known descendants of Skelton or of Wolsey were living when Milton wrote. Skelton was of a Cumberland family; see Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 346.

whom Harry the 8., &c. perhaps = Skelton of Diss in Norfolk. See note on p. d. of Mr. Lobb's *Areopagitica*. Diss was 'in merriment' identified with *Dis*, the god of the infernal regions, and the god's name used for those regions themselves. It is perhaps scarcely worth noticing that Skelton was Rector, not Vicar of Diss. Diss is often spelt with one *s*, as by Fuller. Skelton was at one time tutor to Prince Harry. See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ii. 489-513, &c., ed. 1840; also Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 461, 462, ed. 1840. Erasmus gives Skelton a very different title, in a letter to Henry the Eighth, styling him 'Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus.' By the 'Vicar of Hell' others have supposed Wolsey was meant (see Lord Herbert's *Henry the Eighth*: 'Briefly, to use Polydore's words, he made his private house "Voluptatum omnium sacrarium quo regem frequenter ducebatur"); others Thomas Cromwell; others Andrew Borde; others one Gray, a maker of 'certayne merry ballades.' The phrase itself is obviously a travesty of the Pope's title of 'Vicar of Christ.'

9. *foreine*. There should be no *g* in the word, any more than in *sovereign*. The Fr. *forain* is from the Lat. *foraneus*.

10. *an Indian voyage*. The 'overland' route to India under such conditions as controlled it in the seventeenth century was excessively protracted and tedious. It was believed that some much shorter route might be discovered by sea, either by a North-East or a North-West passage. See *Paradise Lost*, x. 289:

'As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice that stop the *imagined way*
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast.'

Where the Cronian = the Northern, the Arctic Sea, and Petsora is the most N.W. province of Muscovy.

12. *Cataio* = Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the Chams. See *Paradise Lost*, xi. 388; see also Milton's *Brief History of Muscovy*, chap. iii, Of Tingoësia and the Countries adjoining eastward as far as Cathay; *Maundevile's Voyage and Travaille*, chap. xx; *Marco Polo's Travels*, Book ii; *Smith's Gibbon*, viii. 10. n. From the bad character given the inhabitants by travellers, *Cataian* = cheat, sharper, as *Merry Wives*, ii. 1, &c. See *Nares' Gloss*.

by *Canada Westward*. The discovery of a North-West passage, or passages, has, as is well known, been made in our own time. Whether it is of any great value, except as promoting geographical science, may perhaps be doubted. For a brief general account of efforts towards this discovery, and of the achievement of it, see Milner's *Gallery of Geography*, Introd. chap. v, North-Eastern, North-Western, and North-Polar Voyages. See also Lardner's *Cab. Cycl.*, *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, ii. 136-203; *Hakluyt Society's Narratives of Voyages* towards the N.W. in search of a passage to Cathay and India 1496-1631, ed. T. Randall.

[13. Explain our Spanish licencing.]

15. *doubtful* = fearful. Cp. *King John*, iv. 1. 130:

'And, pretty child, sleep *doubtless* and *secure*,'

&c. Halliwell, in his *edition of Nares' Glossary*, quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher:

'I'll tell ye all my fears: one single valour,
The vertues of the valiant Caratach
More *doubts* me than all Britain.'

17. *permitted* = let pass.

22. as the *Prophesie of Isaiah*. &c. See *Acts* viii. 30.

25. *Sorbonists* = the scholars of the Sorbonne, the great theological school of Paris, founded in 1252 by Robert de Sorbon, confessor and chaplain to Louis IX. 'This institution, the teachers in which were always doctors and professors of theology, acquired so much fame that its name was extended to the whole theological faculty of the university of Paris, which was called till the end of the eighteenth century Sorbonne. Its opinions and decrees had a

decided influence upon the character of Catholicism in France,' &c. (Pop. Encycl., s. v. Sorbonne.) The building had been splendidly restored, or rather a new building had been raised, by Richelieu some twenty-five years before Milton wrote the *Areopagitica*. 'It is now the seat of three of the five Faculties of the Academy of Paris, Theology, Sciences and Letters,' &c.; see Murray's Handbook of Paris, &c. Milton mentions the Sorbonists again in his *Defence of the People of England*, chap. xiv: 'Finding yourself destitute of any assistance or help from orthodox Protestant divines, you have the impudence to betake yourself to the Sorbonists, whose college you know is devoted to the Romish religion, and consequently but of very weak authority amongst Protestants,' &c. The reading in Butler's *Hudibras* in all editions till 1704 in i. 1. 158-9 was—

'For he a rope of sand could twist
As tough as learned *Sorbonist*.'

and how fast, &c. Cp. *Lycidas*, 128-9:

'Beside what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said.'

28. *distinct*, not = distinguished, but rather clear-headed, definite, decided.

Arminius, or Harmensen, 1560-1609. The change in his views alluded to in the text took place after he had settled at Amsterdam in 1588. See Mosheim, ii. 242, 261; Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England, chap. vi, &c.

29. *perverted*. What favour Arminianism had in Milton's time found in this country, it had found with Laud and the High Church party. The anti-Episcopalians were for the most part staunchly Calvinistic. Hence *perverted*, not *converted*. The Lat. *pervertere* = to overturn, destroy, corrupt; as Tacitus, *Anno. xiii.* 45: 'Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia Sejani pervertit,' &c.

a namelesse discours. 'A ce moment [just when he became Professor of Theology at Leyden] il fut chargé par Martin Lydius, professeur de théologie à Francken, de défendre la doctrine de Théodore de Bèze sur la prédestination, qui était attaquée par les ministres de Delft. Arminius examina l'ouvrage des ministres, le compara au système de Calvin et de Bèze, balança les raisons de part et d'autre, et finit par adopter les sentiments qu'il s'était proposé de combattre. Il manifesta ses opinions dans ses thèses du 7 février, 1614.' (Nouvelle Biog. Univ.)

nameless = anonymous.

P. 21. 1. [Explain of either sort.]

8. *beyond prohibiting* is grammatically co-ordinate with *without writing*.

9. *cautelous* is from Lat. *cautela*, a 'post-class.' word. Shakspere has the word twice, Cor. iv. 1. 33, and Jul. Caes. ii. 1. 129. For other Elizabethan instances, see Nares. The noun occurs in Hamlet in the sense of deceit; i. 3 14-16: 'Perhaps he loves you now,

And now no soil nor *cautel* doth besmire
The virtue of his will.'

So 'cautels and subtelties' in Berners' *Froissart*, *apud* Richardson.

12. *the exploit of that gallant man*, &c. Cp. the story of the inhabitants

of Borrowdale in Harriet Martineau's *Complete Guide to the English Lakes*, how they 'determined to build a wall to keep in the cuckoo, and make the spring last for ever.' The wall was built, but was a failure 'because it was not built one course higher.'

13. *pound* is from the A.-S. *pyndan*, to shut in; *pen* is in fact the same word. *Pound*, a weight, is of quite different origin.

19. *uncorruptedness* = incorruptibility. Cp. 'unreproved,' *L'Allegro*, 40, &c.; so the Lat. *invictus*, &c.

29. *Aristotle*. See *Ethics*, i. 3: 'Now each individual judges well of what he knows, and of these he is a good judge. In each particular science, therefore, he is a good judge who has been instructed in them; and universally, he who has been instructed in all subjects. Therefore a young man is not a proper person to study political science, for he is inexperienced in the actions of life; but these are the subjects and grounds of this treatise. Moreover, being inclined to follow the dictates of passion, he will listen in vain, and without benefit, since the end is not knowledge, but practice. But it makes no difference whether he be a youth in age or a novice in character, for the defect arises not from age, but from his life and pursuits being according to the dictates of passion; for to such persons knowledge becomes useless, as it does to the incontinent; but to those who regulate their appetites and actions according to reason, the knowledge of these subjects must be very beneficial.' (Browne.)

30. *Salomon*. See *Prov. xvii. 7, xxvi. 5, &c.*

our Saviour. See *Matt. vii. 6*.

[33. What is meant by *idle pamphlet*?]

P. 22. I. *we must not expose*, &c. 'Trial will come unsought.' *Paradise Lost*, ix. 366.

8. *want* = be without, as not uncommonly in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; thus *Tempest*, iii. 1, when Ferdinand asks Miranda why she weeps, she answers (77-79):

'At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give, and much less take
What I shall die to want.'

&c. We still speak of 'supplying what is *wanting*.'

10. *qualifie*. Cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii. 7. 21-23:

'I do not seek to quench your love's hot fire,
But *qualify* the fire's extreme rage,
Lest it should burn above the bounds of reason.'

13. *contrive* is the Fr. *controuver*.

[What is the grammatical subject of *prevented*?]

14. He now proceeds to Point III, see p. 67.

15. *prevented* = anticipated, fore-run, &c.; Fr. *prévenir*, Lat. *praevenire*. See The Bible Word-book, and Trench's Select Glossary, s.v. The transition of meaning from fore-arriving to obstruction is well illustrated in the former work from *Paradise Lost*, vi. 129:

‘Half way he met
His daring foe, at this *prevention* more
Incens’d.’

16. *hath bin explaining*. *Explaining* here is *not* a part, but a verbal subst., what is called in Latin grammars a ‘gerund.’ The prep. ‘governing’ the subst. has dropped out. The full phrase would be ‘hath been on or *in* explaining.’ Cp. ‘while the ark was a [=on] preparing’ (1 Pet. iii. 20). See Longer English Poems, pp. 228, 234; also Smith’s Marsh’s Lectures on the Eng. Lang., pp. 462, 472; Morris’s Eng. Acc., § 292. In some cases, where the subject is not an inanimate thing but a living, the *-ing* does represent a present part.; thus ‘he is going’ = Old Eng. ‘he is *gangende*,’ not ‘he is on *gangung*.’ See Morris, § 291 (3).

17. *ingenuity* = our ‘ingenuousness,’ openness, frankness — a common Elizabethan sense. So Locke *apud* Johnson: ‘If a child when questioned for anything directly confess, you must commend his *ingenuity* and pardon the fault, be it what it will.’

when she gets a free and willing hand, &c. See Bacon’s Adv. of Learning: ‘It appeareth also that logic differeth from rhetoric not only as the fist from the palm, the one close, the other at large; but much more in this, that logic handleth reason exact and in truth, and rhetoric handleth it as it is planted in popular opinions and manners.’

19. *discours* = reason. Hamlet, i. 2. 149: ‘a beast that wants *discourse of reason*.’ Ib. iv. 4. 36-39:

‘Sure, he that made us with such large *discourse*,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.’

See Monboddo on ‘discursus mentis’ and ‘διάνοια’ *apud* Fleming’s Vocabulary of Philosophy. ‘Reasoning (or discourse),’ says Whately, ‘is the act of proceeding from certain judgments to another founded on them (or the result of them).’ (Logic, ii. 1. § 2.)

20. *which I began with*. So the prep. was usually placed in Elizabethan English. Cp. Morris and Skeat’s *Specimens*, ii. p. 272, l. 59, 1872. Later in the seventeenth century it became common to prefix it to the relative. The difference in this matter of collocation between the first and the second editions of Dryden’s Essay on Dramatic Poesy has been often noticed.

21. *did use*. The modern usage as to this form of the preterite began to prevail in the latter part of the seventeenth century. By Pope’s time it was well established; see Essay on Criticism, 346, &c.

[24. Explain *return here*.]

30. *Plato*. On this ‘man of high authority indeed’ let the English reader consult Grote and Jowett.

31. *in the book of his laws* = his *De Legibus*, a distinct work from the *De Republica*.

33. *Burgomasters* = town-rulers, magistrates, mayors, provosts; A.-S. *burgh-gefas*. See the word in the general sense of important persons, I Henry IV, ii. 1. 84. Cp. 'third borough,' Taming of the Shrew, Induction. *Burgh* = *bury*, *borough*, &c.; see Taylor's Words and Places. The root is found in A.-S. *beorgan*, Germ. *bergen*, &c., to protect. Cp. Sidney's 'honest burgesses of Athens' (*Apol. for Poetrie*, p. 21, ed. Arber).

P. 23. 2. *an Academick night-sitting* = a symposium in the Academia. See Paradise Regained, iv. 244:

'See there the olive-grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long.'

3. *By which laws*, &c. See De Legibus, vii. pp. 810, 811; Grote's Plato, iii. 379-381.

4. *but by unalterable decree*, &c. The language is elliptical here. The sense seems to be: He tolerates no learning but that which he fixes by unalterable decree; and this learning, so fixed, consists, &c. See a similar looseness in Pepys' Diary, p. 314. Chandos edition: 'Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody to my sight endeavouring to quench it but to remove their goods and leave all to the fire,' &c.

7. *that no Poet*, &c. Μηδέ τίνα τολμᾶν ἄδειν ἀδόκιμον μοῦσαν μὴ κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων μῆδ' ἀν ἡδίων ἢ τῶν Θαυμύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὑμῶν. See Jowett's Plato, iv. 315.

9. *Law-keepers* = νομοφύλακες.

10. *to* = to apply to, with a view to, &c.

12. *Why was he not else*, &c. Cp. Milton's Latin lines De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit, 35-39:

'At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus,
Haec monstrat si tu primus induxisti scholis,
Jamjam poetas, urbis exules tuae,
Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus:
Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.'

14. *the wanton epigrams and dialogues*. The dialogues meant probably are the Symposium and the Phaedrus; but, if so, the epithet is certainly too violent and unsparing.

15. *Sophron Mimus*. Sophron, the mime writer, flourished in Sicily circa 460-420 B.C. His Fragments are collected by Ahrens, in his De Graecae Linguae Dialectis. See An Apology for Smeectymnuus: 'Nor yet doth he tell us what a mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers, except some fragments, which contain many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in Laertius, that the mimes of Sophron were of such reckoning with Plato as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow. Scaliger describes a mime to be a poem imitating any action to stir up laughter,' &c. (Works, p. 78.)

16. *Aristophanes*. See above, p. 7.

books of grossest infamy. Certainly there are some indecent passages in Aristophanes' works; but as certainly there are passages of exquisite beauty and noble tone. He is anything but an essentially gross writer.

17. *for commanding the latter, &c.* See above, p. 7. 17-19. Of Plato's admiration for Aristophanes there can be no doubt; see the Symposium (translated by Shelley) where Aristophanes is introduced in person. An epigram attributed to Plato runs thus:

Αὶ Χάριτες, τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται
ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν ἐνρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

18. *the malicious libeller of his chief friends*, as of Sokrates in the Clouds, of Nikias (see Plato's Laches) in the Knights, &c.

19. *the Tyrant Dionysius.* See above, p. 7, l. 18.

20. *trash, or troussé*, signified clippings of trees. See Wedgwood, who quotes from Robert of Gloucester, 552:

‘Gret fur he made ther a night of wode and sprai,
And tresche ladde ther aboute that me wide sai.’

27. *fell upon* =threw themselves upon, addressed themselves vigorously to, adopted and enforced with rigour. Cp. ‘fall to,’ as I Henry VI, iii. 1. 89, 90: ‘Nay, if we be forbidden stones, we'll fall to it with our teeth.’ Measure for Measure, i. 2. 3: ‘... why then all the dukes fall upon the King,’ &c. Cp. Lat. *incumbere*, as ‘incumbe toto pectore ad laudem,’ Cicero, Ad Fam. x. 10. 2; Georgics, i. 213, ‘incumbere aratris.’

30. *to shut and fortifie, &c.* Cp. Sams. Agon. 560-562:

‘What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another to let in the foe
Effeminately vanquished?’

P. 24. 2. *No musick, &c.* Plato accepts this necessity in his elaborately regulated republic. See a passage, which was probably in Milton's mind as he wrote the text, viz. Republic, 398 C-399 E.

3. *Dorick.* Paradise Lost, i. 549-551:

‘Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the *Dorian* mood
Of flutes and soft recorders.’

The Doric was the style of military music, contrasting with the soft Lydian mode (cp. L'Allegro, 136) and the harsh, wild Phrygian. See Müller's Dorians, 4. 6; ἡ Δωριστὴ ἀρμονία, Aristotle, Politics, viii. 5. 22; Aristophanes, Equites, 989 (where observe the word-play); Plato, Republic, 399 A: Τίνες οὖν μαλακά τε καὶ συμποτικά τῶν ἀρμονιῶν; Ἰαστί, ἦν δ' ὅς, καὶ Λυδιστί, αἵτινες χαλαρὰ καλοῦνται. Ταύταις οὖν, ὡς φίλε, ἐπὶ πολεμικῶν ἄνδρῶν ἔσθ ὅ τι χρήσει; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύει σοι Δωριστὶ λείπεσθαι καὶ Φρυγιστί. κ.τ.λ.

6. *for such Plato, &c.* See Republic, 400.

8. *all the lutes, &c.* Cp. Plato, Republic, 399 C: Τριγώνων ἄρα καὶ πηκτίῶν καὶ πάντων ὄργανων, ὅσα πολύχορδα καὶ πολυαρμόνια, δημιουργοὺς οὐ θρέψομεν. κ.τ.λ.

9. *ghittarrs*. The Ital. form is *chitarra*; the original word is Lat. *cithara*, Gr. κιθάρα. Amongst the Greeks the instrument so called 'seems to have been identical with the φόρμυγξ, and can have differed little from the λύρα.' (Liddell and Scott.)

10. *prattle* is a secondary verb from *prate*. Cp. *dab*, *dapple*; *drip* (drop), *dribble*, &c.

[How would you parse *what they may say?*]

11. *madrigalls*. The first part of the word is said to be Lat. *mandra* (Martial, v. 22; Juvenal uses it for 'a herd,' iii. 236: 'stantis convicia mandrae'); Gr. μάνδρα, a fold, byre, pen, stable; Sophocles, Fragments, 587, μάνδραις ἐν ιππείαισιν; Theocritus, iv. 61. (In Eccles. Gr. a monastery; whence Archimandrite.) Spanish forms are *mandrial* and *mandrigal*. The -gal is said to be connected with the Teutonic verb *galan* (A.-S.), to sing; cp. nightingale. So the word would properly mean a herd song, a pastoral song, 'hirtenlied' (Diez), 'chanson de berger'; but it came to be used in a general sense. See 'that smooth song by Kit Marlowe':

'There will we sit upon the rocks,
And see the shepherds feed their flocks
By shallow rivers, by whose falls
Melodious birds sing *madrigalls*.'

With Milton's 'that whisper softnes in chambers,' cp. Dryden's Art of Poetry:

'The *madrigal* may softer passions move,
And breathe the tender ecstacie of love.'

(*Apud* Richardson.) See Diez's Lex. Rom.

13. *Balcone's*. Diez holds this word to be derived from a Germ. stem—the stem of *balken*, a beam, rafter. The -one is the common Ital. -one, as in *pallone*, and in our *balloon*. The penult is long with Sherburne (1618-1702), and with Jenyns (1704-87), and in Cowper's John Gilpin; Swift has it short. See Richardson.

shrewd, strictly = shrewish. Cp. the double sense of *sharp*, &c. Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 323:

'O when she's angry, she is keen and *shrewd*.'

14. *Frontispices*. This is the correcter orthography; the vulgar spelling is due to an erroneous notion that the latter part of the word is connected with 'piece'; whereas it is from the Lat. *specio*. (For other instances of false etymologies corrupting orthography, see Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, second series, Lect. xi, &c.) *Frontispicium* properly = the front-look; in architecture, a house-front. See Paradise Lost, iii. 506-7: 'The work as of a kingly palace-gate
With *frontispice* of diamond and gold
Embellished.'

16. *visitors*. Cp. the use of this word at the Universities; also *visitation*, as Isaiah x. 3, &c.; *visit*, Exod. xx. 5, &c. *Visitant* seems rather to have been used in our sense of *visitor*; thus, 'the great *visitant*', Paradise Lost, xi. 225.

lectures = readings. The word was used specially of the Sunday afternoon discourses of Puritan preachers.

17. *the bagpipe*, now happily almost confined to the North parts of this island, once pervaded the South also. See Chaucer's Prologue (568-9), of the 'Mellere':

‘A *baggepipe* cowde he blowe and sowne,
And therewithal he brought us out of towne.’

See Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time.

rebbeck. ‘An instrument of music, having cat-gut strings and played with a bow; but originally with only two strings, then with three, till it was exalted into the more perfect violin with four strings. It is thought to be the same with *ribible*, being a Moorish instrument, and in that language called *rebeb*. Thence it passed into Italy, where it became *ribeca*, or *ribeba*, whence our English word. See Hawkins's History of Music, vol. ii. p. 96, note.’ (Nares.) See also Chappell's Popular Music. Du Cange, *s. v. Baudosa*, quotes from one Aimericus:

‘Quidam *rebecam* arcabant,
Muliebrem vocem configentes.’

L'Allegro, 91: ‘the jocund rebecks,’ &c.

ev'n to, &c., i. e. even down to, even as low as, &c.

18. *ballatry* = balladry. The -ry has a collective force, as in *yeomanry*, *cavalry*, *peasantry*, &c. See note on *trashtrie* in Longer English Poems, p. 368; Morris' English Accidence, § 33 and 325. Various forms of *ballad* are *balade*, *ballet*, &c.; see above, p. 8, l. 3, and the note.

gammuth is from *Gamma*, ‘the first letter of the musical notation invented by Guido,’ and Lat. *ut*, ‘the syllable used in singing the first note of the scale’ (the present *do*). Ital. *gamma*; Fr. *gamme*. See Taming of the Shrew, iii. 1. 72-8.

18. *municipal* = country. See the next line. Cp. Burke's Reflections: ‘We provide first for the poor and with a parental solicitude we have not relegated religion (like something we were ashamed to show) to obscure *municipalities* or rustick villages.’ This use is ‘Classical.’ ‘As the *municipia* were subordinate to the capital cities,’ *municipalis* ‘is sometimes used in a contemptuous sense, analogous to our *provincial*: *municipalis eques* (of Cicero), Juv. viii. 236 [238]; m. et cathedralii oratores, Sidonius, Ep. iv. 3; poetae, id. Carm. ix. 310.’ (Andrews' Freund.) Cicero, Phil. iii. 15: ‘*Videte quam despiciamus omnes, qui sumus e municipiis.*’

19. *Arcadia's*. The Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia* was first printed in 1590, four years after Sir Philip Sidney's death. A more complete edition, differently arranged—the work was left unfinished—was published in 1593. See Hallam's Lit. of Europe, ii. 411, 438; Taine's Hist. of Eng. Lit. i. 164-172; Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, chap. xi. &c. The *Arcadia* was immensely popular in the early seventeenth century. See Hallam, iv. 94, &c.

Monte Mayors. Monte Mayor (circ. 1520-156 $\frac{1}{2}$), a Portuguese by birth.

was the author of the *Diana*, a pastoral romance, whose popularity spread from Spain, the especial land of romances, all over Europe. See Hallam, ii. 282, 435; Dunlop, chap. xi; Ticknor's Spanish Literature, iii, 82-84, ed. 1863; Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, chap. xxvi, &c. Shakspere is said to have drawn something of his picture of Proteus and Julia, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, from the *Felix* and *Felismena* of the *Diana*.

21. *hears ill.* A Greek idiom. Cp. κακῶς ἀκούειν, κακῶς κλύειν. So the Lat. *audio*, as Horace, Epistles, i. 16. 17:

‘Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod *audis*,’

&c.: *clueo*, frequent in Plautus and Lucretius. See Ben Jonson *passim*; in the Dedication to the Fox he speaks of his age being one ‘wherein poetry and the professors of it *heare so ill* on all sides;’ see also his masque Love Restored: ‘They are these make mee *heare so ill* both in towne and countrey as I do.’ See also Faerie Queene, i. 5. 23:

‘O what of gods then boots it to be borne,

If old Aveugles sonnes so *evill heare*?’

Paradise Lost, iii. 7:

‘Or *hear'st* thou rather pure ethereal stream,’ &c.

(= Horace's ‘libentius *audis*,’ Satires, ii. 6. 20.)

household gluttony. Cp. Chaucer's Franklin (Aldine Ed.):

‘Wel loved he in the morn a sop of wyn.

To liven in delite was al his wone,

For he was Epicurius owne sone,

That heeld opynyon that pleyñ delyt

Was verrailly felicite perfyt.

An householdere, and that a gret, was he;
Seynt Julian he was in his countre.

His breed, his ale, was alway after oon;

A bettere envyned man was nowher noon.

Withoutte bake mete was never his hous,

Of fleissch and fissch, and that so plentyvous,

It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke,

Of alle deyntees that men cowde thynke.

Aftur the sondry sesouns of the yeer,

He chaunged hem at mete and at soper.

Ful many a fat partrich had he in mewe,

And many a brem and many a luce in stewe.

Woo was his cook but if his sauce were

Poynant and scharp and redy al his gere.

His table dormant in his halle alway

Stood redy covered a. the longe day.’

‘English Epicures,’ Macbeth, v. 3. ‘It is not for nothing that other countries whom we upbraid with drunkenness call us “bursten bellied gluttons,”’ Nash's Piers Penitent. Sir Andrew Aguecheek's view has found and finds

much favour with us. 'Does not our life consist of the four elements?' asks Sir Toby. 'Sir Andrew. Faith, so they say; but I think it rather consists of eating and drinking. Sir Toby. Thou'rt a scholar; let us therefore eat and drink. Marian, I say! a stoup of wine!' What Hamlet says of Denmark in i. 4. 14-22, is surely meant to describe England. Cp. Scott's picture of the Saxon Athelstane in *Ivanhoe*.

22. *and what shall be done to inhibit, &c.* A question still agitated, and far from settlement.

25. *Our garments also, &c.* In the later Middle Ages laws were passed defining the dress material that was to be used. See the Statute of Apparel, 1363, &c.; Fairholt's *Costume in England*, second edit., p. 116, &c. 'Acts of Apparel' were also passed in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VIII, Mary, and Elizabeth. See the decree of 1597 in the Egerton Papers (Camden Society), pp. 247-256. Such interferences have now long been desisted from. Listen to Adam Smith: 'It is the highest impertinence and presumption therefore in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the economy of private people, and to restrain their expense either by sumptuary laws or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries.' (*Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. iii.) See Lecky's *Rationalism in Europe*, ii. 285, ed. 1875.

27. *garb.* 'Formerly applied to the mode of doing anything, but latterly confined to the fashion of dress.' (Wedgwood.) Cp. Span. and Ital. *garbo*, &c. See Diez, who connects the stem with 'Old H. Germ. *garawi*, *garwi*, *schmuck*.' This *garwi*=A.-S. *gearwa*, our *gear*.

conversation. See p. 8, l. 6.

28. *as is the fashion of this Country.* See almost any foreign work on English life and manners.

30. *what presum'd*; i. e. what degree of presumption—of liberty and boldness generally—may be permitted, how far we may go. This seems the sense rather than what Mr. Lobb suggests, who paraphrases 'what should be only implied,' opposing the words to 'what may be only talked about' (= *what shall be discours'd*). The rhythm of the sentence is against confining the words *and no furder* to *what presum'd*. They apply just as much to *what discours'd*.

P. 25. 2. *to sequester*=to withdraw, retire. The verb is generally transitive; thus Sir T. More, *Workes*, p. 1046, *apud* Richardson: 'For hym hathe God the father sealed. This is to sai that him hath God the father specially *sequestred* and severed and set aside out of the number of al creatures.' So Gray's *Elegy*, 75. The word is of Latin law origin.

Atlantick. See Bacon's *New Atlantis*. Bacon took the name from Plato's *Timæus* (24 E-25 A), and his *Critias*; see *Critias*, chap. vii.

3. *Eutopian.* See More's *Utopia*, printed in Latin in 1516, translated into English by Ralph Robinson, and printed first in 1551, and again in 1556. See a re-issue of the second edition among Arber's English Reprints. For the orthography, the first syllable represents the Gr. *oὐ* (though perhaps

Milton thought εὐ, to judge from his spelling, which is also Sidney's in the *Apol. for Poetrie*), the whole word signifying 'Nowheria.' Sir Thomas More's knowledge of Greek was evidently not unlimited. Cp. *Erewhon*, the title of a book lately published, which is *nowhere*, written as nearly backwards as may be.

polities = πολιτείας, political systems. Not *politics*, as is commonly printed; e. g. in Bohn's edition.

[6. Explain *unavoidably* here.]

11. which Plato there mentions. See *Republic*, iv.

13. these they be, &c. Cp. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 24. 35, 36, and 51-54:

'Quid leges sine moribus

Vanae proficiunt?

• • • •

Eradenda cupidinis

Pravi sunt elementa, et tenerae nimis

Mentes asperioribus

Formanda studiis.'

21. *pittance*, Fr. *pitance*. It. *pietanza*, &c. The word 'au sens propre désigne la portion que reçoit un moine à chacun de ses repas. Il est encore employé aujourd'hui avec cette signification dans le langage monastique.' It is the Med. Lat. *pietantia*, which 'dérive de *pietatem* et désigne le produit de la charité, de la piété des fidèles. On appelait de même au moyen âge *misericordia* (pitié, compassion) certains repas monastiques.' (Brachet.) See also Du Cange. See Chaucer's *Prologue*, 223, 224, of the Friar:

'He was an esy man to yeve penance

Ther as he wiste to han a good *pitance*.'

Cp. Prynne's *Treachery and Disloyalty*, part ii. p. 33, *apud* Richardson: 'They have bee[n] allowed only a poore *pittance* of Adam's ale and scarce a penny bread to support their lives.' The monastic officer who distributed the doles was called *pitancarius*; Fr. *pitancier*. Wedgwood derives the word from *apidançant* or *afitançant* = *appétissant*; wrongly, I should say. In the text it seems to mean not so much 'an allowance,' as 'allowancing,' i. e. a system of allowance.

23. *grammercy*. Cp. 'What thank have ye?' Luke vi. 32, &c. Chaucer gives the word in the agglutinative stage; see the *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Wright, 8964, 8965:

'Grauntmercy, lord, God thank it you, quod sche,

That ye han saved me my children deere.'

So in *The Dream*, wrongly attributed to Chaucer. For the use here cp. *Utopia*, ii. 8: 'For many of them they bring home sometimes, paying very little for them, yea, most commonly getting them for *gramercy*.' Coleridge uses the word, somewhat inaccurately, but according to Johnson's account of it (see *Dictionary*), as an exclamation, in *Ancient Mariner*, 164:

'Gramercy! they for joy did grin.'

24. *many there be that, &c.* He wrote *Paradise Lost* to
 ‘assert eternal Providence,
 And justify the ways of God to men.’

See esp. iii. 80-134.

28. *a meer artificiall Adam, &c.* = an automaton, a *νευρόσπαστον ἄγαλμα* (Herodotus, ii. 48), a thing moved ἀψύχων δίκην ὄργάνων (Clemens Alexanderinus, 598).

artificiall. See Bacon’s *Adv. of Learning*, ed. Wright, Gloss. s. v.
 in *the motions* = in the puppet-shows. See Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*, 5th Act, *passim*; *Winter’s Tale*, iv. 2, 102; ‘Then he compass’d a *motion* of the Prodigal Son,’ &c. This kind of entertainment is of very ancient origin. Herodotus says it was introduced from Egypt (ii. 48); see Bekker’s *Charicles*, 185 n. ed. 1854; Hone’s *Strutt’s Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, pp. 165-167; Hone’s *Ancient Mysteries Described*, 225, 229, 230; *Spectator*, No. 14, &c. See also Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*, chaps. ii-viii.

21. *esteem not of* = do not think highly of. So Spenser, *To Sir Walter Raleigh*: ‘seeing all things accounted by their shows and nothing *esteemed of*; &c.

31. *provoking* = inviting, enticing, &c. *Heb. x. 24*: ‘And let us consider one another to *provoke* unto love and to good works,’ &c.

P. 26. 22. *yet pours out before us, &c.* Comp. *Comus*, 762-779.

23. *gives us minds, &c.* *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 315: ‘What a piece of work is man,’ &c.

26. *scanting.* The adj. *scant* = that which is measured *exactly*, and so = spare; from Norse *skamta*, a measure, connected with *skamr*, short; see *Cleasby* and *Vigfusson*.

29. *better done.* *Lycidas*, 67: ‘were it not *better done*,’ &c.

32. *dram* is contracted with *drachm*, Gr. *δραχμή*. For the sense here cp. *Hamlet*, i. 4. 36.

P. 27. 1. [What ‘part of speech’ is *sure* here?]

3. *whatever thing we hear or see, &c.* Cp. the Duke’s experience in *As You Like It*, ii. 1. 15-17:

‘And this our life exempt from public haunt
 Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
 Sermons in stones, and good in everything.’

9. *that continu’d Court-libell, &c.* = the *Mercurius Aulicus*, a virulent Royalist paper, published regularly once a week from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occasionally, by Sir John Birkenhead, Reader in Moral Philosophy at Oxford; see Holt White’s note. The Civil Wars of the seventeenth century were the birth-time of newspapers. (The English *Mercurie* of 1588 has been shown to be a forgery.) See Disraeli’s *Cur. of Lit.*, art. *Origin of Newspapers*.

15. *blindfold.* The full form would be *blindfolded*.

17. *frustrat.* This form comes straight from the Latin.

20. *divulg'd* = promulgated, published, or made public. Par. Reg. iii. 62.

27. *officials*. A most odious term at the time Milton wrote. 'An *Official* was the name of the Officer in the Ecclesiastical Courts to whom the Bishops deputed the cognizance of spiritual offences. Laud had let them loose over the country.' So Holt White, who quotes from Of Reformation ('a band of robbing *Officials*, &c.), from Cartwright's Ordinary, and from Clarendon the statement that Sir Edward Deering presented 'a Bill for the utter eradication of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters; with all Chancellors, *Officials*, and all Officers and other Persons belonging to either of them.'

28. *that the Commonwealth, &c.* He is thinking of the decree of the Roman senate in critical times—'darent operam Consules ne quid Respublica detrimenti caperet.'

29. *damnify'd*. Faerie Queene, ii. 6. 43:

' "Harrow now out and well away!" he cryde;
" What dismal day hath lent this cursed light
To see my Lord so deadly *damnifyde*?"'

The compound *indemnify* is common enough.

P. 28. 2. *according to the model, &c.* See above, p. 6. 1. 26.

4. *condiscend*. So Faerie Queene, v. I. 25:

' Thereto they both did frankly *condiscend*.'

Carew, Survey of Cornwall, f. 88, has 'condiscended'; Fabyan, an. 1361, 'condyscendid.' See Richardson.

7. *story* = history. See above, p. 9. I. 11.

8. *of many sects, &c.* See Drayton's Polyolbion and Selden's notes—a work with which Milton often shows familiarity; Song x, where some complaining of the want of evidence there is for the older history of Britain,

' Thus do I answer these :

That th' ancient British priests, the fearless Druides,
That minister'd the laws, and were so truly wise,
That they determin'd states, attending sacrifice,
To letters never would their mysteries comit,
For which the breasts of men they deem'd to be more fit;
Which questionless should seem from judgment to proceed.
For, when of ages past we look in books to read,
We retchlessly discharge our memory of those.
So when injurious time such monuments doth lose
(As what so great a work, by time that is not wrackt?)
We utterly forego that memorable act;
But when we lay it up within the minds of men
They leave it their next age; that leaves it hers agen;
So strongly which (me thinks) doth for tradition make,
As if you from the world it altogether take,
You utterly subvert antiquity thereby.'

The note compares the Cabalists, 'which until of late time wrote not, but taught and learnt by mouth and diligent hearing of their rabbins.'

20. *The Christian faith, &c.* The earliest Gospel in point of date is said to be that of St. Matthew; the earliest Pauline Epistle is the 1st to the Thessalonians. Possibly St. Peter's and St. James' may be older than any of St. Paul's. However this may be, all the Epistles imply an already established Christianity.

[21. What is the force of *sit* here?]

22. *be wasted*, &c. = to float over the river which according to the ancient mythology divides life from death.

28. *journey-work* = day-work, day-labourer's work, the work of a journeyman or *un homme de journée*, set, mechanical, servile work.

29. *upon his head*. Cp. *poll-tax*, &c.; also the use of Lat. *caput*, Gr. *κάπα*.

33. *in a hand scars legible*. Milton himself took pains to write as clearly as possible. Cp. Hamlet, v. 2. 33-36.

hand. So *fist* also is used: see below, p. 32. l. 7. Cp. Lat. *manus*, as Cicero, Ad Att. viii. 13: 'Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii *manus*,' &c. 'Know you the *hand*?' Hamlet, iv. 7. 52.

P. 29. 1. *would not down*. Cp. the verbal use of *up*, *away*, &c. The emphatic word absorbs into itself, so to speak, the power of the formal verb; thus *to down* = to *go down*, &c. So *ἀνά*, as Homer, Il. vi. 331, &c.

4. *of a sensible nostrill*. A Latin phrase; see Horace, Satires, i. 3. 29 and 30:

'Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum.'

Cp. Ib. iv. 8, 'Emunctae naris'; Epod. xii. 3, 'naris obesae'; Epistles, i. 19. 45, 'naribus uti'; also Satires, i. 6. 5, 'naso suspendis adunco Ignotos'; ii. 8, 64, &c. Orelli compares Plato's use of *κορυφάω*, Republic, 343 A. Cp. also Cowper's Task, ii. 256:

'Strew the deck
With lavender, and sprinkle liquid sweets,
That no rude savour maritime invade
The nose of nice nobility.'

(See Shakspere, I Henry IV, i. 3. 45.) But our corresponding metaphor is taken not from the nose but the palate. We speak of a 'man of taste.' Cp. the French *de bon goût*.

sensible = our *sensitive*. So Dryden *apud* Johnson:

'Even I the bold, the *sensible* of wrong,
Restrain'd by shame, was forced to hold my tongue.'

Cp. *sensibility*. Locke speaks of 'sensitive knowledge,' meaning 'knowledge reaching no further than the existence of things actually present to the senses,' (= our *sensuous*).

5. *erave*. A.-S. *erafian*, to ask.

[7. What part of the sentence is *looking on it*, &c. ?]

14. *ridd*. *Rid* is cognate with Germ. *retten*, to save rescue.

15. *unthrift* = prodigal. 'Some in Farys sayde: "It is pytie these

vnthrifys be vnhanged or drowned for tellyng of suche lies."" Berners' Froissart, *apud* Richardson.

17. *salary*. The Latin *salarium* originally denoted salt-money, money given the soldiers for salt, and then generally an allowance, stipend, &c. The word, which of course came to us through the French, is certainly as old in England as Piers the Plowman, where it occurs in the form *salerye*.

23. He now comes to Point IV, see p. 67.

the no good. Cp. the use of *οὐ* in Gr.; as, *ἡ τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσις*, Thucydides, i. 137; *ἡ οὐ περιτείχισις*, Ib. iii. 95; *ἡ οὐκ ἐξουσία*, Ib. v. 50, &c. So *τὸ μὴ καλόν*, Sophocles, Antigone, 370, &c.

26. *It was the complaint*, &c. Mr. Osborn notes that 'when the Bill for abolishing Bishops, Deans, and Chapters was before the House of Commons, Dr. Hackett was heard in their defence (1641), and urged "that their endowments were encouragements to Industry and Virtue, and were serviceable for the advancement of Learning." These were the arguments usually adopted in their favour.'

28. *pluralities*. Plurality was a crying offence in Milton's eyes; see Apology for Smectymnuus: 'The Prelate himself, being a *pluralist*, may under one surplice, which is also linnen, hide four benefices, besides the metropolitan toe,' &c. On the New Forcers of Conscience, 1-6:

'Because you have thrown off your prelate-lord,
And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,
To seize the widowed whore *Plurality*
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred.
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free?'

See also The Second Defence, &c.

29. *dasht*. Comus, 451-2:

'noble grace that *dashed* brute violence
With sudden adoration and blank awe.'

Psalm vi. 21:

'Mine enemies shall all be blank and *dashed*
With much confusion.'

30. *I never found cause*, &c. See Remonstrant's Defence: 'It had been happy for this land, if your priests had been but only wooden If you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you; and their number increasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastical schoolmen daily increased.' Also The likeliest Means to Remove &c.: ' . . . as if with divines learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part their pittance is so small.'

P. 30. 3. *discontent*. Suckling's Sessions of the Poets:

'Those that were there thought it not fit
To *discontent* so ancient a wit.'

17. *over it is, &c.* The full phrase would be 'over what it is,' &c.; but 'what' having occurred just before in *what advantage*, Milton does not care to repeat it.

18. *scapt.* So *scape-goat*. Cp. *crawfish* with *écrevisse*, *craze* with *écraser*, &c. *Escape* is perhaps ultimately cognate with *skip*; see Mr. Jerram's Par. Reg., Gloss.

19. *ferular* = the rod, the cane, the 'tawse' (see Jamieson). Mr. Skeat sends me a sketch of the thing from an old seal in his possession. It expanded at the end—the end designed for the victim—into a flat round; that is, it was in shape like a battledore with the handle lengthened and the bat diminished, and so well adapted for effect on the palm of the hand, which was the part of application; see Gerard Dow's picture of the Schoolmaster in the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge. See Defence of the People of England: 'If I had leisure, or that if it were worth my while, I could reckon up so many barbarisms of yours in this one book as, if you were to be chastiz'd for them as you deserve, all the school-boys' *ferulas* in Christendome would be broken upon you.' See other instances—from Bishop Hall's Censure of Travel and Feltham's Resolves—*apud* Richardson; also Gosson's School of Abuse, p. 24, ed. Arber. The stem is the Lat. *ferula*, which is of the same root as *ferire*, to strike; see Horace, Satires, i. 3. 120; Juvenal, i. 15, where see Mayor's note. See Martial, Epigrams, xiv. 80, 'Ferulae':

'Invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris

Clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus.'

The form *ferularis* is not found in Classical Latin; the Classical adjs. are *ferulaceus* and *feruleus*. *Ferularis* would seem an analogue of *regularis*. But it may be the *ferular* of the text is a misprint for *ferula*.

fescu = the wand or pointer; another form is *festu*. Lat. *festuca*, a stalk, stem, small stick. See Remonstrant's Defence: 'A minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chewed to, and *fescued* to a formal injunction of his rote lesson, should as little be trusted to preach, &c.' See Sir T. More's Workes, p. 1102: 'But I shall afterward anon lay it afore him agayne and sette him to it with a *festue* that he shall not say but he saw it.' See Way's Promptorium Parvulorum, s. v. *festu*, note: 'In Piers Ploughman's Vision, line 6183 [Mr. Skeat's B-Text, x. 278, *festu*], where allusion is made to Matth. vii. 3, the mote in the eye, *festuca*, is termed *fescu*. [So in the Wycliffite version.] The Medulla likewise renders "festuca, a festu or lytul mote." The name was applied to the straw, or stick, used for pointing in the early instruction of children: thus Palsgrave gives "festue, to spell with. festev." Occasionally the name is written with c or k, instead of t; but it is apparently a corruption [probably due to writing, as there is often confusion in MSS. between c and t]. "Festu, a feskue, a straw, rush, little stalk or stick, used for a fescue. Touche a fescue; also a pen or a pin for a pair of writing tables." Cor. In the Puritan, one of the plays falsely ascribed to Shakspere, *fescue* = dial-hand; see iv. 2, Sir Godfrey Plus log.: 'Nay, put by your chats nowe; fall to your business roundly; the *fescue* of the dial is

upon the christ-cross of noon.' The form *feasetrau*, given by Halliwell, Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, is clearly due to some crude popular etymology. In Somersetshire occurs the form *vester*; see Jennings' Glossary of West Country Words.

21. *the theam*. This was the old grammar-school word for an essay; cp. Fr. *thème*. See Locke, On Education, § 171: 'As to *themes* they have I confess the pretence of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject.'

a *Grammar lad* = a grammar-school lad. The phrase is still so used provincially, as in Durham.

22. *utter'd*. To *utter* = to *outer*, send out, issue. We still speak of 'uttering coin.'

22. *without the cursory eyes*, &c. = without his eyes running over or surveying it. Henry V, v. 2. 77-8:

'I have but with a *cursory eye*
O'er-glanced the articles.'

a temporizing and extemporizing licencier = a licencier who considers only the expediencies of the moment, and arranges offhand the means to satisfy them.

25. *standing to*, &c. = standing close to, in near connection with, &c. So 'Sir John stands to his word,' I Henry IV, i. 2. 130, &c.; and so our present usage.

P. 31. 4. *considerat*. On the active sense of passive participles in Elizabethan English see Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar, § 294 and 374. *Considerate* has retained its active sense.

5. *watchings*. *Watch*, *wake*, *wait* are but various forms from A.-S. *wacian*.

6. *expence of Palladian oyl*. 'Operam et oleum perdere' was a common Latin phrase. See Cicero, Ad. Fam. vii. 1. 3 (perhaps in the Latin phrase there is allusion to athletes' oil; see l. c.); Ad. Att. ii. 17; see also xiii. 38: 'ante lucem quum scriberem contra Epicurios, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te et ante lucem dedi.' *Lucubration* means originally a working by lamplight.

Palladian oyl = learned oil. The olive-tree was sacred to Pallas Athena; of which dedication Milton perhaps here suggests a meaning. The old mythology was never a dry and forceless thing to him. He, like Bacon, discerns in it 'the wisdom of the ancients.' The oil-light, by which men of learning studied, was a gift of the goddess of learning. In the Latin poets Pallas sometimes = oil, as Ovid, Tristia, iv. 5. 3.

unleasur'd = ἄσχολος.

10. *puenie*. *Puny* = *puiné* = *puis-né*, i. e. *post-natus* or after-born. See Bishop Hall's Resolutions for Religion, *apud* Richardson: 'Or [if any shall usurp] a motherhood to the rest . . . and make them but daughters and *puenies* to her,' &c. Of the Evil Angels: 'If still this privilege were ordinary left in the church, it were not a work for *puiness* and novices, but for the

greatest master and most learned and eminently holy doctors which the times can possibly yield.'

12. *bayl* is ultimately from Latin *bajulus*, a bearer, porter.

idiot. See Trench's Select Glossary, also his Study of Words.

17. *under the Presse*. We say 'in.' 'Sub prelo' is the common sixteenth century Latin phrase.

19. *diligentest*. See above, note to p. 15, l. 15.

20. *dares*. Commonly, when we use *dare* with another verb, we do not inflect the 3rd person; we treat it like the auxiliary verbs; but when it 'governs an accusative,' then we inflect it. We say 'he *dare* not go,' but 'he *dares* him to go.' See Morris's Eng. Acc., p. 184. The fact is that the words are different. The auxiliary *dare* is really an old preterite, like *wot*, *wont*, *olda*, &c. See Grein's Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie, Glossar., s. v. *durran*; also Skeat's Moeso-Gothic Dict. p. 304.

23. *jaunt*. Old English *jaunce*, Old French *jancer*, 'to jolt, or jog.' (Wedgwood.) See Shakspere, Richard II, v. 5. 94:

'Spurr'd, gall'd, and tri'd by *jauncing* Bolingbroke.'

Ben Jonson's Tale of a Tub, ii. 1:

'Faith, would I had a few more *geances* on't.'

27. *accuratest* = most carefully considered, soundest.

29. [What is the meaning of *melancholy* here?]

31. *Doctor* is literally a teacher, as Cicero, Ad Fam. vii. 19, &c.

P. 32. 1. *patriarchal licencer*. There is an allusion to Laud here. There was a popular rumour that he wished to become the Patriarch of the Western Church. See the quotation from Somers' Tracts, iv. 434, Scott's edition, *apud* Holt White; also Of Reformation, where Milton says that 'whenever the Pope shall fall' the Bishops will try to get what they can out of the ruin, 'hee a *Patriarchome*, and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinal [Richelieu] of late, and the *See of Canterbury* hath plainly affected.'

patriarchal = patriarch-like, who assumes the authority of a patriarch or head of 'the House.' Πατριάρχης, compounded of πατρά and ἄρχος, = race-chief. In Eccl. Greek it was the title borne by the Bishops of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria.

2. *hidebound* is used of beasts, and of trees that cannot grow because their hides or barks are so thick; similarly of corn. See Overbury's Characters, The Franklin: 'He is never known to go to law; understanding to be law-bound among men is like to be *hidebound* among his beasts—they thrive not under it.' See from Boyle's Works, vi. 483, *apud* Richardson. Cp. *barkbound*: see Mahn's Webster.

which he calls his judgement. Cp. the late Lord Westbury's phrase: 'what he is pleased to call his mind.'

4. *pedantick* = schoolmaster-like, pedagogic. With the latter word it is said by some to be etymologically almost identical; *pedant*, they say, is contracted from *pedagogant* (is there such a word?), which is a secondary form from

pedagogue. More probably, as Diez holds, it is from a Latinized form of the Gr. παιδεύειν, the Ital. *pedante*. For *pedant* in the sense of 'schoolmaster' see e. g. Love's *Labour's Lost*, iii. 1. 179:

'A domineering *pedant* o'er the boy,' &c.

What is now the common use began to prevail in the course of the seventeenth century. See *Spectator*, 105: 'A man that has been brought up among books and is able to talk of nothing else, is a very indifferent companion and what we call a *pedant*.' Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, chap. 10, says that 'pedantry consists in the use of words unsuitable to the time, place, and company.'

5. *ding* = fling; originally, to strike, as *Havelok the Dane*, l. 215, the king

'Ofte dede him sore swinge
And wit hondes smerte *dinge*;
So that the blod ran of his fleys,
That tendre was, and swithe neys.'

Ib. 227. *

'Thanne he hauede ben ofte swungen,
Ofte shriven and ofte *dungen*,' &c.

See Skeat's Gloss. to *Havelok*, also Jamieson's *Scot. Dict.*, Stratmann's *Dict. of Old Eng.*, Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, Vigfusson's *Icel. Dict.*, s. v. *dengja*, &c.

5. *a coil's distance*. Cp. Gr. δίσκουρα, as Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 523; Ib. 431:

ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὐρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται,
ὄντ' αἰχῆδες ἀφῆκεν ἀνήρ, πειρώμενος ηβῆς,
τόσσον ἐπεδραμέτην.

7. *fist*. Cp. above, note, p. 28, l. 33. See *Roister Doister*, iii. 5. 43, where the Scrivener bids Ralph

'Loke on your own *fist*,' &c.

10. *Stationer* = the bookseller, or the publisher. All that the word meant to begin with was one who had a station or stall in the market-place. See Trench's *Select Glossary*, s. v.; Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*, 95; *Dunciad*, ii. 31, &c. Trench quotes from Fuller's *Appeal of Injured Innocence*: 'I doubt not but that the Animadverter's *Stationer* doth hope and desire that he hath thus pleased people in his book for the advancing of the price and quickening the sale thereof.'

11. [What is meant by *return* here?]

14. *this*, i. e. the licensed book under consideration.

15. *from Sir Francis Bacon*. See Bacon's tract entitled *An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England*, written 1589, first published in 1640 (he is speaking of the attempts of the bishops to suppress certain pamphlets): 'And indeed we see it ever falleth out that the forbidden writing is always thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up in the faces of those that seek to choke it and tread it out; whereas a book

authorized is thought to be but "temporis voces," the language of the time.' Milton quotes again from this tract, below, p. 38; again in the Animadversions, p. 57 of Prose Works: ' . . . insomuch that Sir Francis Bacon in one of his discourses complains of the bishops' uneven hand over these pamphlets, confining those against bishops to darkness, but licensing those against Puritans to be uttered openly, though with the greater mischief of leading into contempt the exercise of religion in the persons of sundry preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.' See also Apology for Smectymnuus, p. 84 of Prose Works. See Spedding's Letters and Life of Bacon, i. 78.

17. *which will be, &c.* He will be a difficult man to succeed, as we say. It is too much to hope that there should be two licensers of extraordinary judgment one after the other. Mr. Lobb takes the words differently. He paraphrases: 'and if this should be the case the further continuance of the system would be seriously imperilled.'

22. *never so famous.* So Psalm lviii. 5: 'charmers charming *never so wisely.*' Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 442:

'Never so weary, never so in woe,

I can no further crawl, no further go,' &c.

See Abbott's Shak. Gr., § 52.

25. *ventrous* = venturesome, daring, audacious. Dryden's Knight's Tale:

'The *vent'rous* knight is from the saddle thrown.'

Faerie Queene, iv. 11. 7:

'Who sore against his will did him retaine,

For feare of perill which to him mote fall

Through his too *ventrous* prowess proved over all.'

27. *decrepit* means originally noiseless, and so forceless, weak, estete. Plautus speaks of a 'vetulus decrepitus senex,' Mercator, ii. 2. 43. 'In decrepitos me numera et extrema languentes,' writes Seneca, Ep. 26.

28. *though it were Knox, &c.* Possibly he alludes to an edition of Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, in which that work appeared with passages expunged. Disraeli refers to this mutilation in his article on 'The Licensers of the Press' in Curiosities of Literature: 'Knox, whom Milton calls "the Reformer of a Kingdom," was also curtailed;' (also = as well as Buchanan's History of Scotland). But was this edition mutilated by the licensers, or by the editor himself? See Holt White.

Knox's life (1515-72) has been written by McCrie (1812) and Brandes (1863). Milton mentions him again in his Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, p. 238 of Prose Works: 'In the year 1564 John Knox, a most famous divine and the reformer of Scotland to the presbyterian discipline,' &c.; and in his Observations on the Articles of Peace, p. 268 of Prose Works: 'But these blockish presbyters of Clandeboye know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and of killing kings.'

30. *their dash, i. e. their erasure, their 'dele.'*

32. *perfunctory*—merely and narrowly official. Richardson gives from Bishop Hall's Sermon on Ecclesiastes iii. 4: 'Let not our mourning be *perfunctory* and fashionable; but serious and hearty and zealous, so that we may furrow our cheeks with our tears.'

to what an author, &c. Holt White suggests that the work referred to is the posthumous volumes of Coke's Institutes, published in 1641. Or is it Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland? See above, l. 28.

P. 33. 2. *till a more convenient season*. It would seem that such a season never came, as neither to Festus, whose phrase it is with regard to a second interview with St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 25).

3. *resented*. See Trench's Select Glossary, s. v. *Resent*.

5. *such iron moulds*, i. e. such cancers.

6. *knaw*—gnaw. See instances of the form with *k* from Chaucer, More, and North, *apud* Richardson.

9. *the more*. The = *by that much*; Lat. *eo*. It is an old ablative.

13. *dunce*. See Trench's Study of Words, p. 108, and Select Glossary, s. v., and above, p. 18, l. 26.

15. *every knowing person*. See below, p. 46, l. 13, 'a knowing people.'

19. *set so light by*, &c. Cp. 'to set store by,' &c. Perhaps *light* in this phrase should be *lite* or *little*, i. e. represents the old *lyte*, A.-S. *lytel*. *By*—by the side of, in comparison with; Gr. *παρά*, and *πρός*. So 'to set so light by,' &c., is 'to compare with what is so little,' &c., = to reckon or rate at so little, put so low an estimate upon.

the invention. Shakspere calls Venus and Adonis 'the first heir of my invention.' Henry V, Prologue:

'O for a Muse of fire that would ascend
The brightest heaven of *invention*,' &c.

the art—the power to express and embody what 'the invention' suggests.

21. *it*—the whole intellectual power of which the specific faculties—if 'faculties' is not an obsolete word—have just been mentioned.

26. *monopoliz'd*. The age of State monopolies, which had been felt inexpressibly odious, was only just past. See Hallam's Constit. Hist., chap. vi.

27. *tickets*—perhaps labels describing the quality, price, &c. of the goods on which they were placed; or labels testifying the goods are licensed to be sold; or better, as Holt White: 'Acknowledgements for goods obtained on credit were then called *Tickets*;' see the instances he quotes. Hence our 'slang' phrase 'to go on *tick*.' In derivation *ticket* is connected with *stick*, &c. The old Fr. form is *esticquette*.

statutes, notes Holt White, 'are securities given for debts contracted by the purchase of merchandise.' See Shak. *Sonnets* 134, *Hamlet*, v. 1. 113.

standards, such as are established in trade matters, as for weights and measures, &c. See Blackstone, On the Royal Prerogative as to Weights and Measures, Kerr's ed. i. 270-272.

28. *a staple commodity*—a law-defined, chartered commodity. See Kerr's Blackstone, i. 308: 'These [customs on wool, skins, and leather] were

formerly called the hereditary customs of the crown; and were due on the expectation only of the said three commodities and of none other; which were styled the *staple* commodities of the kingdom, because they were obliged to be brought to those ports where the king's staple was established in order to be there first rated and then exported,' &c.

31. *like that impos'd, &c.* See 1 Sam. xiii. 19-22.

32. *coulter*, or *colter*, is the Lat. *cultor*, which is from *colo*.

P. 34. 12. *disparagement* means strictly 'an ill pairing,' a mésalliance. So *disparage*, Faerie Queene, iv. 8. 50. Cp. Camden's Elizabeth, an. 1563: 'They disdained this marriage with Dudley as altogether *disparageable* and most unworthy of the bloud royal and royal majesty.' The general sense of any unworthy association, and so of degradation, prevailed in the seventeenth century.

17. *jealous*. Lowland Scottish retains this verb; see *jealouse* and *jalouse* in Jamieson.

26. *nor that neither*. Observe the double negative. Instances of it occur in this phrase certainly as late as Goldsmith.

P. 35. 2. *laick*, strictly = popular, pertaining to the people; Gr. *λαϊκός*; but has a depreciatory sense. Cp. *lewd*, *vulgar*. See Of Church Government: 'We have learnt the scornful term of *laick*', &c.

5. *conceit*, i. e. conception. Etymologically *conceit*, Ital. *congetto*, is a corruption of the Latin *conceptum*.

12. *enchoridion*, *Ἴγχειριδίον* = hand-book, Lat. *manuale*. Observe the word-play here; *enchoridion* also signifies 'a dagger,' as Thucydides, iii. 70. Erasmus sports similarly, as Holt White notes: 'Dedi *Enchiridion* [his Enchiridion Militis Christiani]; ille contra *gladiolum*, quo non magis adhuc sum usus quam ille libro.' Life by Jortin, i. 358. In the sense of a hand-book the word was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

the castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur, i. e. without the protection of some Papacy-born license. He refers to the fact that the Castle of St. Angelo, then the Pope's prison, was once the papal fortress. Originally the Mausoleum of Hadrian, it was first occupied as the papal fortress by Pope John XII in the tenth century. In time it passed to other uses. See Murray's Rome.

16. *flourishes*. See Love's Labour's Lost, ii. 1. 13, 14:

'Good lord Boyet, my beauty, though but mean,
Needs not the painted flourish of your praise.'

Richard III, i. 3. 241:

'Poor painted queen, vain flourish of my fortune.'

The word was technically used of a blast of trumpets, as Richard III, iv. 4. 148.

17. *what I have heard, &c.* See his account of his travels in his Second Defence, pp. 933, 934 of Prose Works.

19. *their lerned men*. In the Second Defence, l. c., he mentions Jacob

Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, &c. at Florence, Lucas Holstein 'and other learned and ingenious men' at Rome, Manso Marquis of Villa at Naples.

26. *fustian*. In the *Apology for Smeectymnuus* he speaks of 'Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern *fustianist*.' *Fustian* denotes originally a sort of coarse cloth; then stuffing, padding; in literature it denotes words without force, mere verbiage. Cp. *bombast*.

27. *Galileo*, born 1564 (the year of Shakspere's birth), died 1642. See Life by Brewster; also Hallam's Lit. of Europe, 1600-1650, chap. viii.

28. *prisoner to the Inquisition*. He seems at the time Milton visited him (1638) to have been in what the Latins called *libera custodia*, i. e. not confined in any dungeon, but only kept under a certain restraint, as that he should not move away from a specified neighbourhood, or perhaps a special house.

for thinking in astronomy, &c. As is well known, he held that the earth moved round the sun, and not the sun round the earth. Milton himself can scarcely be said to have accepted his views, but evidently they attracted him. See especially *Paradise Lost*, viii. 122-158:

‘What if the sun

Be centre to the world, and other stars,’ &c.;

also iv. 591-597. Wilkins (1614-1672) seems to have been one of the first Englishmen who formally supported them. See Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*, p. 571.

29. *the Franciscan*, &c. On the connection of the Dominicans with the Inquisition see above, note to p. 6, l. 26.

30. *that England then*, &c. See Hallam's Constitutional History, chap. viii.; also Milton's own *Of Reformation in England*, &c.

P. 36. 3. *forgotten*, i. e. made forgotten, caused to be forgotten. So sometimes in Elizabethan English *remember* = to make remembered, &c. See below, p. 38, l. 15.

7. *parts*, i. e. of the world. So we may still speak of *Foreign Parts*.

9. *in time of Parliament*. From 1629 to 1640 had been a time of no Parliament. See Hallam.

11. *without envy* = *sine invidia, absit invidia*, without exciting any odium against me. Cp. *Reason for Church Government*, p. 43 of Prose Works: 'Yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be *envy* to me.'

12. *an honest quaestorship*, &c. Cicero was Lilybaean quaestor in Sicily 75 B.C.

quaestorship. The duties of the quaestor were concerned with the public money.

14. *Verres*. The extortionate propraetor in Sicily 73-71 B.C.; against whom the famous *Verrine Orations* of Cicero were delivered, or composed. (Only two of the seven were actually delivered.) See Forsyth's *Life of Cicero*.

18. *just reason* = δρός λόγος.

20. *the disburnding*, &c. = the expression of a mere whim of my own.

29 *the shaking of every leaf*. Observe the word-play. Milton is not altogether free from the punning plague of his time. See the notorious passage in *Paradise Lost*, vi. 558-567.

P. 37. 1. *will soon put it out of controversie*, &c. See Milton's lines On the New Forcers of Conscience. That bishops and presbyters were identical was one of the points urged by the Puritans. See *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, where he maintains that it is 'clear in Scripture that a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is all one both in name and office.' Of course in the text Milton is speaking with a slightly bitter jocularity. What he now discovers is a moral as well as a historical identity; and the question so long mooted is settled. Cp. *Short's History of the Church of England*, § 606.

8. *dioces* is from the Gr. διοίκησις, (1) an administration; (2) the district administered.

10. *a mysticall pluralist* = an extraordinary, mysterious, perplexing pluralist; one whose pluralities it would not be easy to define. The Episcopalian pluralist was at least an intelligible monstrosity.

11. *sole ordination*, &c. The rights of sole ordination and of spiritual jurisdiction were amongst the points attacked by the Smectymnuans and defended by Bishop Hall. See *Animadversions*, p. 68 of *Prose Works*.

novice is the Lat. *novicius*, which in earlier Latin at least is specially used of one recently made a slave; thus *Plautus, Captivi*, iii. 5. 60:

'Recens captus homo nuperus et *novicius*.'

Batchelor. 'Le bachelier, propriétaire d'une *baccalaria* [= une métairie, derived from Lat. *vacca*], d'un bien rural, est audessus du serf, tout en restant un vassal d'ordre inférieur. Ce mot prend ensuite le sens, en droit féodal, de vassal qui marche sous la bannière d'autrui; puis de gentilhomme trop jeune pour lever bannière, qui sert sous la conduite d'un autre seigneur; puis dans la langue de l'ancienne Université, de jeune homme qui étudie sous un maître pour acquérir la dignité inférieure à celle de docteur; enfin de gradué d'une Faculté.' (Brachet.) The derivations that used to be given from *bas chevalier*, and from *bacca lauri* are ridiculous enough.

Batchelor of Art. So *Apology for Smectymnuus*, sect. viii, p. 89 of *Works*. *Art* is here used in a collective sense.

15. *Covenants*. 'Cov'nants were the engagements which the Commons' House had drawn up for signature the year before and ordered to be subscribed by the Members of both Houses of Parliament and by the People. Beside this natural test or pledge of fidelity enjoined by the Parliament there were voluntary covenants by which the individuals of particular bodies mutually bound themselves to sustain "the good old cause" and to be faithful to each other.' (Holt White, who refers to *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, &c.*) See in any *History of England* some account of the Scotch Covenant of 1638 and the English of 1643.

16. *Protestations*. In May, 1641, on the discovery of a scheme to call

in the English army from the North to overawe the Parliament, the Commons drew up a *Protestation* declaring their resolve to uphold the Protestant faith against Romish innovations, to protect the King's person, the freedom of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject. This *Protestation* was also taken by the peers and bishops. See *Annals of England*, &c.

17. *chop*=exchange. The original is the A.-S. *ceāpan*, to buy. Cp. *chap*-man, *cheap*, *Chep*-stow, *cheapen*, &c. Lydgate gives the Dutch form in London *Lyckpenny* (*Skeat's Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, p. 25):

‘I gat me out of the doore,
Where Flemynges began on me for to cry
“Master, what will you *copen* or by?”’

Chop is still common enough in provincial dialects, and amongst schoolboys.

18. *the Palace Metropolitan*, i. e. Lambeth Palace. See *Stow's Kentish Saxons*, an. 456, *apud Richardson*: ‘It [Kent] hath the Archbischopricke of Canterbury, *Metropolitane* and Primate of all England, and the Bishopricke of Rochester, and kings as followeth.’

20. *an old canonicall slight*=a well-known trick allowed by the canon law. *cannonicall*. ‘The Apostolical Canons . . . are certainly a forgery of much later date’ than the Apostles. ‘The Greek church allows eighty-five, the Latin fifty of them. The first ecclesiastical canon was promulgated A.D. 380. Canon law was first introduced into Europe by Gratian, the celebrated canon-law author in 1151 (or 1127), and was introduced into England, 19 Stephen, 1154.’ (*Haydn's Dict. of Dates.*) The second part of the canon law consisted of ‘the decretals’=‘a collection of the Popes’ edicts and decrees, and the decrees of councils.

commuting our penance. See *Jeremy Taylor's Rule of Conscience*, i. 4: ‘Vitellescus vows to fast upon the last of February, but, changing his mind, believes he may *commute* his fasting for alms; he resolves to break his fast and give a ducket to the poor. But when he had new dined, he discourses the question again, and thinks it unlawful to *commute* and that he is bound to pay his vow in kind; but the fast is broken, and yet if he refuses upon this new inquest to pay his *commutation* he is a deceiver of his own soul.’ *Liberty of Prophesying*: ‘There is so free a concession of indulgences appendant to all these, and a thousand fine devices to take away the fear of purgatory, to *commute* or *expiate* penance, that in no sect of men do they with more ease and cheapnesse reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven then in a Roman communion.’ See *Remains of Archbp. Grindal*, *Parker Society Ed.*, p. 457.

21. *startle*. Observe the intransitive use.

22. [How would you parse *be afraid*?]

conventicle is properly a diminutive of *convent*=a coming together, a meeting, an assembly. In the seventeenth century it came to be used specially of nonconformist meetings and meeting-houses. Cp. *Beaumont's Psyche*, xvi. 80:

‘The fond schismatick and heretick fry
 Flatter their *conventicling* cells in vain,
 As if the sneaking arms of privacy
 The great and catholick spirit could contain.’

Taylor (*Liberty of Prophesying*, xii), speaks of ‘the *conventicles* of the Arians.’ See *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*; No. XI. *Maintainers of Conventicles censured*, and XII. *Maintainers of Constitutions made in Conventicles censured*. P. 542 of the ed. of 1844.

26. *the rock of*, &c. See *Matt. xvi. 18*.

31. [What is the grammatical construction of *to shut us all up again?*]

33. *Who cannot but discern*, &c. There is a pleonastic negative here. Either ‘who cannot discern’ or ‘who can but discern’ would have been sufficient (the latter phrase would have been ambiguous). Cp. the much ‘*vexed*’ passage in *Macbeth*, iii. 6, 8:

‘Who cannot want the thought,’ &c.

P. 38. 2. *baited down*. Bear-baiting, as is well known, was a favourite old English sport. See *2 Henry VI*, v. 1. 148-150 (Clifford to York, of Warwick, whose cognisance was the bear, and Salisbury):

‘Are these thy bears? We’ll bait thy bears to death,
 And manacle the bearward in their chains,
 If thou darst bring them to the baiting place.’

At the time Milton wrote this ‘sport’ was prohibited, but it was neither forgotten nor extinct.

6. *voided out of the Church*=emptied out of, ejected from the Church. Cp. *Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women*:

‘When that the house *voided* was of hem all
 He looked on his daughter with glad chere.’

Fabyan’s *Chronicle*, Henry III, an. 1230: ‘The people there assemblyd *voydyd* the churche, and the *vcarrys* and chanons forsoke theyr *deskys*.’ *Void* and *avoid* originally=to make empty. Strictly, therefore, we should speak of voiding or avoiding a place, not a person.

9. *run*, i. e. let run.

13. *to her old fetters*. See note above to p. 29, l. 1.

15. *remember them*=make them remember, remind them. So *King Lear*, i. 4. 72: ‘Thou but *remember’st* me of nine own conception,’ &c. This factitive use of verbs is very common in Elizabethan English. See above, p. 36, l. 3.

16. *this obstructing violence*, &c. The shameful ‘violence’ shown towards Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and many another had certainly ‘obstructed’ the aims of the perpetrators. See *Hallam’s Constitutional History*, chaps. vii, viii, *Student’s Edition*.

19. *The punishing of wits*, &c. Cp. *Tacitus*: ‘Punitis ingenii gliscit auctoritas.’

20. *enhaunces*=literally, puts forward, *advances*.

23. *a nursing mother*; i. e. not only a producer, but a fosterer and

encourager. *Isaiah xlix. 23*: 'And kings shall be thy nursing fathers [so *Numb. xi. 12*], and their queens thy *nursing mothers*.' See *Locke's Letters on Toleration*, *Letter 3*, *chap. ix.*

24. *a step-dame*. This is scarcely an accurate word. *Step*=A.-S. *steop*, meaning bereft, and thus a *step-child*=an orphan. It would seem to have been used specially of a child who has lost *one* parent; and, in an odd way, in the case of the surviving parent marrying again, the same prefix was used to denote the parent acquired by the marriage. Thus, while strictly speaking a *step-mother* or *father* should mean a mother or father who has suffered a bereavement, it does in fact denote just the opposite. In the common usage, all that a *step-mother* means is one who has to do with a *step-child*. For a similar misuse cp. the terms *grandchild* and *grandmother*. *Grandmother* is intelligible enough; but *grandchild*! Contrast the Fr. *petite-fille*. For the sense of *step-dame* here, cp. Gr. *μητριά*, Lat. *noverca*, Fr. *belle mère*. Cp. *Sidney's Apol for Poet.*, p. 60, ed. *Arber*: . . . 'to inquire why England, the mother of excellent wits, should be grown so hard a *step-mother* to poets,' &c. See the story of Battos in *Herodotus*, iv. 154, of Etearchos' second wife and her step-daughter: ή δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικάειν εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μητριῇ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχονσά τε κακὰ καὶ πάν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη. Observe how the dying Alkestis entreats Admetos, for their children's sake, not to marry again (*Euripides, Alkestis*, 304-310):

τούτους [the children] ἀνάσχου δεσπότας ἐμῶν δόμων,
καὶ μὴ 'πιγήμησ τοῖσδε μητριὰν τέκνοις,
ἥτις κακίων οὖσ' ἐμοῦ γυνὴ φθόνῳ .
τοῖς σοῖσι κάρμοις παισὶ χείρα προσβαλεῖ.
μὴ δῆτα δράσῃς ταῦτά γ'. αἰτοῦμαί σ' ἐγώ.
ἐχθρὸς γάρ η 'πιοῦσα μητριὰ τέκνοις
τοῖς πρόσθ', ἔχιδνης οὐδὲν ἵπιωτέρα.

Æschylus calls a certain perilous coast 'a step-mother of ships' (*μητριὰ νεῶν*, *Prometheus*, 727). Cp. Horace's

'Quid ut noverca me intueris, aut uti

Petita ferro bellua?'—*Epodes*, v. 9;

Vergil's 'injusta noverca' (*Eclogues*, iii. 33); 'saevae novercae' (*Georgics*, ii. 128); Ovid's 'sceleratae novercae' (*Fasti*, iii. 853); 'terribiles novercae' (*Metamorphoses*, i. 147); Plautus' 'apud novercam queri' = to complain in vain (*Pseudolus*, i. 3. 95); Tacitus' 'novercalia odia' (*Annals*, xii. 2); Seneca's (the Elder) 'novercalibus oculis intueri' (*Controversiae*, iv. 6), &c. In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, Fortune is described to be 'as a step-mother envious.' See also *Shakspere, Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 2. 201, *Cymb.* i. 1. 70, &c.

27. *to*, i. e. with regard to, in respect of. We should rather say 'from' uses. This present in this sense is almost obsolete. With regard to the preterite, notice how the pronunciation is varied with the sense. In the sense 'was wont' the 's' is sharp; in the other sense, it is flat.

29. *complexion*=constitution. *Berners' Froissart*, i. *chap. 326*: 'This

was a man of feble *complexion* and sickly, and endured moche payne more than any other.' Dryden's Death of Oliver Cromwell:

'For from all tempers he could service draw;
The worth of each with its alloy he knew,
And, as the confident of nature, saw
How she *complexions* did divide and brew.'

Bacon speaks of 'empiric physicians which commonly have a few pleasing receipts, whereupon they are confident and adventurous, but know neither the causes of diseases nor the *complexions* of patients, nor peril of accidents, nor the true method of cures.' (Advancement of Learning, i. 2. 3; see Glossary in Aldis Wright's edition.) See Chaucer's Prologue, of the Franklin, 333:

'Of his *complexioun* he was sangwyn,' &c.;

where *complexion* = temperament. The modern meaning appears certainly in the sixteenth century; as in Shakspere, see Sonnet xviii. 6, &c. See Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon s. v.

Truth is compar'd, &c. Cp. Psalm lxxxv. 11: 'Truth shall spring out of the earth' ('shall flourish out of the earth,' Common Prayer).

P. 39. 1. Assembly. This was the proper title of what answered in some degree to the Convocation of the Episcopalian.

5. *There be, who knows not that there be, &c.* See The Likeliest Means to Remove, &c., close to the end, p. 438 of Prose Works: 'But while Protestants, to avoid the due labour of understanding their own religion, are content to lodge it in the breast, or rather in the books, of a clergyman, and to take it thence by scraps and mamblocks, as he dispenses it in his Sunday's dole, they will be always learning and never knowing; always infants; always either his vassals, as lay papists are to their priests, or at odds with him, as reformed principles give them some light to be not wholly conformable; whence infinite disturbances in the state, as they do, must needs follow.'

6. [Explain of here.]

professors = Puritans. May speaks of 'strict Professors of Religion commonly called Puritans.' (History of the Parliament which began in 1640.)

7. *arrant* is said to be derived from A.-S. *arg*, or *earg* = wicked, bad; cp. Dutch and Germ. *arg*. *Arch* is probably cognate. The *-ant* is probably, as Wedgwood suggests, a corruption of an inflectional *-en*; cp. *Romaunt* and *Roman*, *Alyaunt* and *alien*, *tyrant* and Fr. *tyran*, &c. Also the form may have been influenced by some fancied connection of the word with Lat. *errans*.

[Explain *an implicit faith.*]

8. *any lay Papist of Loretto* = 'any one of the fervent, uncompromising believers who constitute the secular (i. e. uninitiated) population of such a centre of papal superstition as Loretto.'

Loretto, a town of Central Italy, not far from Ancona, was one of the

most frequented places of pilgrimage during the Middle Ages. This popularity it owed to the asserted presence there of the *Santa Casa*—the very house whose walls witnessed the birth of the Virgin herself, the Annunciation, the Incarnation, and the growth of the Incarnate. This venerable fabric had been moved by angels from its original site in Palestine, when the Saracens destroyed the temple which the Empress Helena had built over it. It rested for three years on the coast of Dalmatia. Then in 1294 it was moved again—to a grove near Loretto. ‘After three times changing its position, it at length settled down, in 1295, on the spot it now occupies.’ See Murray’s Handbook of Central Italy and Florence, Stanley’s Sinai and Palestine, &c.

10. *pidling*. In Reformation in England, Milton speaks of ‘the ignoble hucksterage of *pidling tithes*,’ &c. The word is probably connected with *petty*, Fr. *petit*, &c.

11. *mysteries*. The spelling should be ‘*misteries*;’ for the word in this sense is derived from the Lat. *ministerium*. Popular etymology connected it with the Gr. *μυστήριον*; hence the false orthography. See Max Müller’s Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 254; cp. Chaucer’s Prologue, 613:

‘In youthe he lerned hadde a good *mester*;
He was a wel good wright, a carpenter.’

skill = be skilful enough, manage, &c. The verb is more common in Elizabethan English as an impersonal, in the sense of ‘it matters not,’ ‘makes no difference;’ thus Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, v. 78: ‘Wherefore to passe by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a priesthood, a presbytership, or a ministrie, it *skilleth not*,’ &c.

13. *bear up with*, i. e. keep pace with.

14. *What does he therefore but resolv*s, &c. We should rather say ‘*re-solve*,’ using the infinitive dependent on ‘*does*.’ The former usage is the more correct; for in the latter ‘*does*’ is in fact used in two different ways—(1) as a complete verb, and (2) as an auxiliary.

22. *commendatory*. South’s Sermons: ‘To sooth and flatter such persons would be just as if Cicero had spoke *commendatories* of Anthony, or made panegyrics upon Catiline.’

25. *dividuall* = dividable (Cudworth), separable (Paradise Lost, xii. 82):

‘Yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
Twinned, and from her hath no *dividual* being.’

Something different is the sense in Paradise Lost, vii. 382; the moon
‘Her reign
With thousand lesser lights *dividual* holds.’

30. *after the malmsey*, &c. Breakfast did not become ‘a stated meal’ till the beginning of the eighteenth century. ‘Previously it had been only occasionally served in the establishments of the great. Queen Elizabeth

breakfasted off meat, bread and cheese, and ale; her morning table was sometimes spread sumptuously, but the usual custom among both rich and poor was merely to take a morning draught. "My diet," says Cotton, "is always one glass as soon as I am dressed, and no more till dinner." At Ha per's or at the Crown, Pepys drank his morning draught, which was usually a glass of buttered ale,' &c. (Our English Home, pp. 188, 189.) Both tea and coffee were introduced into England about the middle of the seventeenth century, but they did not become common for many a long year.

the malmsey. Chaucer calls it 'malvesie.' See the Shipman's Tale 14481, Ed. Wright:

'With him brought he a jubb of *Malvesie*,
And eek another ful of wyn vernage
And voluntyn, as ay was his usage.'

Another form is *malmesyne*, as in The Squire of Lowe Degre:

'Ye shal have rumney & *malmesyne*,
Both ypocrasse and vernage wine,' &c.

The name was derived from Malvasia, 'a town upon the eastern coast of the Morea, near the site of the ancient Epidaurus Limera, within a small distance from Crete.' (Tyrwhitt.) The Hostess describes Bardolph as 'that arrant malmsey-nose knave.' (2 Henry IV. ii. 1.)

well spic't bruage. Drant's Horace, Sat. ii. 4:

'As if in brewinge spiced wines
Thou shouldest bestow muche paine,' &c.

31. *he whose morning appetite*, &c. See Matthew xxi. 19; Mark xi. 13.

P. 40. 6. *Publicans* = Lat. *publicani*, as in the A. V. of the New Test.

the tunaging and the poundaging, &c. Tunnage and poundage, 'the original of our present Customs duties, consisted, beside some less important matters, of a duty of 3s. on each tun of wine imported and of 1s. in the pound on the value of other goods; aliens generally paid double.' (Annals of England.) The student need scarcely be reminded that it was the king's levying these duties on his own authority that formed one of the gravest dissatisfaction of the Parliaments of Charles I. See Hallam.

8. *'em* (=hem, now superseded by *them*) is here reflexive, as very commonly in Eliz. Eng.

12. *what* = what for, why; so Lat. *quid*, Gr. *τι*. So Julius Caesar, ii. 1. 123, 124:

'What need we any spur but our own cause
To prick us to redress?'

So in older English *passim*, e. g. in Chaucer.

18. *starch* is a softened form of *stark*, stiff, rigid.

19. *stanch* is ultimately connected with *stagnant*, through Old Fr. *estancher*, Low Lat. *stancare*. Cp. Old English *stank* = a stagnant pool.

24. *is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice*, i. e. has reached the furthest point of his expectations, has realised his utmost hopes in the

matter of preferment. *Hercules pillars* = the Straits of Gibraltar (see Spenser's *Prothalamion* 148, and note in *Longer English Poems*), were for many an age the western boundary of the world; see Pindar's *Olympia*, iii. 77; &c. And so the phrase is used by Bacon, and here, in the general sense of a term or limit; cp. 'ultima Thule.' See *Adv. of Learning*, ed. Wright, ii. 1. 3 'For why should a few received authors stand up like *Hercules' columnus*, beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star as your Majesty to conduct and prosper us?'

26. *to finish his circuit* = conclude his studies. Cp. 'When I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies,' &c. (*Reason for Church Government*, p. 43 of *Prose Works*).

an English concordance. 'The first concordance was made under the direction of Hugo de St. Charo, who employed as many as 500 monks on it.' (Haydn.) Jeremy Taylor speaks of 'the Latin Concordances of S. Hierom's Bible published by Stephens.' Cruden's *Concordance* was published in London in 1737.

27. *a topic folio* = 'a commonplace book.' Aristotle's *Tóποι* (as *Rhetoric*, i. 2. 211) = Cicero's *Communes loci* (*De Oratore*, iii. 27), whence our phrase, though in a slightly altered sense. See Cicero, l. c.: 'Consequentur etiam illi loci qui quanquam proprii causarum et inhaerentes in earum nervis esse debent, tamen quia de universa re tractari solent, *communes* a veteribus nominati sunt.' &c. Bacon says a good word for commonplace books, or rather for the theory of them, in the *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 15. 1; 'but,' he adds, 'this is true that of the methods of commonplaces that I have seen, there is none of any sufficient worth: all of them carrying merely the face of a school and not of a world, and referring to vulgar matters and pedantical divisions, without all life or respect to action.' Milton himself kept one, but in no servile style; see the edition of it issued by the Camden Society.

28. *a sober graduatship* = a steady University career.

a Harmony = a handbook bringing into agreement, or attempting to do so, seemingly incongruous Scripture narratives; a *Diatessaron*.

a Catena = a list or series or 'chain' of authorities. Especially famous in its time was the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas. (The word *chain* is, in fact, a corruption of *catena*.)

31. *solfa*. See above, p. 107, note on *gammuth*.

P. 41. 2. *charge* = duty.

sermoning. Chaucer has the word in a general sense (*Knight's Tale*):

'I trow ther nedeth litel *sermoning*

To maken you assente to this thing.'

Holinshed's *Description of Ireland*, chap. 4: 'You *sermon* to us of a dungeon appointed for offenders and miscreants.'

3. *interlinearie* = line-beneath-line translations. Jeremy Taylor (*Sermon iv.*) refers to an interlineary translation of the Hebrew Bible, how it renders 'nechosheth' by 'exactores.' See the passage, *apud* Richardson.

breviaries = abridgments (the Fr. *abréger*, whence our *abridge*, is a 'corruption' of the Lat. *abbreviare*), compendiums. Specially, it denoted a concise form of the Roman Catholic service-book, containing 'the seven canonical hours;' originally called the 'custos.'

synopses = general views. Synopsis was a common book-title.

loitering gear = lazy apparatus, slovenly tackle, lifeless stuff. Cp. 'loitering books and interlineary translations,' in the Apology for Smectynnuus. *Gear* is the A.-S. *geara* or *gearwa*, preparation. It is used in a very general sense in Eliz. Eng.; as Troilus and Cressida, i. 1. 6, says Pandarus of Troilus' passion for Cressida:

'Will this *gear* ne'er be mended?'

ib. iii. 2. 220; Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 110; ii. 2. 176; Comus, 167, &c.

6. *our London trading St. Thomas, &c.* i.e. our largest and busiest marts are as well stocked with sermons as with any other ware whatever. This seems to be the meaning of this very difficult passage; but the details of the expression are obscure. *St Thomas* may refer to the church of St. Thomas Apostle in Knightriders Street in Vintry Ward (see Stow's Survey of London, ed. Thoms, p. 92); *St. Martin* to that of St. Martin le Grand (there were other churches of St. Martin, as in the Vintry, not rebuilt after the fire, &c.). What is meant by *St. Hugh* I do not know. There has never been in London a church dedicated to a saint of that name. (The only Church in England so dedicated is said to be at Quethiock in Cornwall.) Can *St. Hugh* possibly denote Lincoln? Not that Lincoln Cathedral is dedicated to him (it is dedicated to the Virgin); but because his fame was so especially connected with it. See some account of the famous Bishop Hugh in Murray's Cathedrals. It is perhaps worth noticing that the church and college of St. Thomas Acon were granted to the Mercers. See Milman's St. Paul's, p. 166. Both of the churches of St. Thomas and that of St. Martin just mentioned were in the midst of old London commerce. And it is to be noted that in the old days commerce gathered round churches, churches standing in central positions. 'The market was held before the church door.' (Knight's London, iv. 212.) As for *in his vestry*, Mr. Lobb suggests that *vestry* here = clothes-mart; and this is not an impossible sense for Milton to give the word (Pliny xv. 8. 8 uses *vestiarum* for a clotheschest, wardrobe), but there seems no other instance anywhere of such an use. Nor, on the other hand, can I find any other mention of 'vestries,' in the ordinary sense, used for places of sale. It is possible that buying and selling went on actually inside the churches, as in the Temple at Jerusalem (John ii. 13-17). It is well known that much 'business' was transacted inside old St. Paul's (see chap. xi. pp. 286-288 of Milman's St. Paul's, &c.). But the only mention of actual commerce inside a church I have noted is in a Letter of Grosseteste of the thirteenth century; see p. 71 of Mr. Luard's edition of the Epistolae, where is reported a regulation of the king, A.D. 1236 (?), 'ut mercatores de caetero in nundinis

suis apud Northamptoniam nullas merces exponant venales, *nec emant vel vendant in ecclesia vel in coemeterio Omnia Sanctorum apud Northamptoniam.*' In the Calendar of State Papers for 1637, Domestic Series, ed. Bruce, p. 508, there is a notice of cockfighting in a church, at Knotting, Bedfordshire. But see Appendix below, p. 153.

11. *impal'd* = protected by palisading. Holland speaks of 'those *impal'd* piaces where youths prepare themselves for the wrestle.' (Plutarch, p. 925.) Cp. Reason of Church Government, i. 2: 'And thus we find here that the rules of Church discipline are not only commanded but hedg'd about with such a terrible *impalement* of commands as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them must hazard the wounding of his conscience even unto death.'

12. *his back dore*, i. e. the postern.

15. *waking*. *Watch* is orig. a variant of *wake*; see p. 31, l. 5, note.

20. *fend* = forfend, defend. The simple *fendo* is not found in classical Latin. See Percy Folio MS. i. 21:

'He that does that deed, sayes Robin,
Ile count him for a man;
But that while will I draw my sword,
And *fend* it, if I can.'

Percy Folio MS. i. 365:

'Men called him Sir Gray Steele;
I assayed him, and he *fended* weeble.'

See Jamieson's Sc. Dict.

24. *hold the truth guiltily*. Cp. Romans i. 18: 'For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who *hold the truth in unrighteousness*.'

25. *Condemn not*, &c. i. e. do not ourselves pronounce our teaching to be feeble and vain.

27. *gadding rout*. Cp. Samson Agonistes, 674-677:

'Nor do I name of men the common rout
That wandering loose about
Grow up and perish, as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered.'

Gadding = going up and down, roving, &c. Bale speaks of 'Gadders, pylgrymes, and ydoll seekers' (Apology, fol. 98), and of 'gapynge, gaddynge, ydoll sensynges and watter conjurynges, wyt many other fine toyes, whych all came from Rome,' &c. See Richardson. Cp. Prov. (c. g. Westmoreland), 'gad-about.' See 'rout' in Lycidas, 61, and Jerram's note.

33. *Christ*, &c. See St. John xviii. 19, 20: 'The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing,' &c.

P. 42. 19. *stop*, i. e. blockade.

creeks. *Creek* radically = a bend, a winding, conn. with *crook*.

20 *our richest Marchandise, Truth.* ‘The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls; who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had and bought it.’ (St. Matthew xiii. 45, 46.)

22. *Antichristian malice and mystery.* The ‘Protestants’ of Milton’s time, as indeed many of the less enlightened of our own, had assurance enough to identify the Church of Rome with the Babylon of the Revelation. See Rev. xvii. 3-7. Or *mystery* here may = craft, fraud; cp. *Paradise Regained*, iii. 249.

24. *settle* = establish.

25. *the Turk, &c.* Printing was not allowed in Turkey till just a century and a half ago. Mr. Lobb states that ‘newspapers seem not to have made their appearance in Turkey till 1831. The first was a Government Gazette, printed in Constantinople, and called the “Tatler of Events.”’

Alcoran. *Al* = the; *coran*, = a reading, or lecture. See Sale’s *Koran*, p. 190, note, edit. 1836. Cp. our *Bible* (=the Book).

30. *but he who thinks, &c.* His *Of Reformation in England* is a masterly protest against any such notion of finality.

32. *prospect* = view, aim.

33. *the mortall glasse, &c.* *Glass* = looking-glass, mirror. So *Hamlet* iii. 1; *Gascoigne’s Steel glass, &c.* See 1 Cor. xiii. 12: ‘For now we see through [=by means of] a glass, darkly; but then face to face.’ Cp. 2 Cor. iii. 18. See also old romances of chivalry; also *Chaucer’s Squire’s Tale*, &c.

P. 43. 1. *beatific vision* = the sight of God ‘face to face:’ see *Par. Lost*, iii. 60:

‘About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance.’

On which Todd quotes from *Sandys’ Paraphrase on Job* (1637):

‘Againe when all the radiant sons of Light
Before his throne appear’d, whose only sight
Beatitude infus’d.’

Comp. ‘Him whose happy-making sight,’ &c. in lines on *Time*. See *Paradise Lost*, i. 684; also the splendid passage near the end of *Of Reformation in England*, beginning ‘Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of Saints:’ . . . ‘Where they undoubtedly that by their labours, counsels and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferiour orders of the blessed the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in super-eminence of *beatific vision*, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever.’ (Works, p. 21.) Jeremy Taylor’s *Sermons*, ii. 1: ‘As the saints and angels in their state of *beatific vision* cannot chuse but love God; and yet the liberty of their choice is not lessen’d; because the object fills all the

capacity of the will and the understanding,' &c. This 'vision,' called also 'Intuitive,' was distinguished from the 'Abstractive,' and that 'of Comprehension.'

7. *the Egyptian Typhon.* This was the brother of Osiris, who was guilty of rebellion, murder, and usurpation. After a long search Isis, the wife of Osiris, found her husband's mangled remains; and, helped by her son Horus, overthrew Typhon. See Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*. This Typhon was, according to the later poets at least, the Greek monster of the name, called also *Typhoeus*. See Ovid's *Met.*, v. 318-331, where a song' which

' *Falsoque in honore Gigantas*

Ponit et extenuat magnorum facta deorum'

relates how the monster broke from his earth dungeon and drove the gods before him into Egypt, where they disguised themselves as best they might. See, as Jebb notes, Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, tr. by Darnell, i 445.

9. *the good Osiris.* He had civilised a wild and barbarous people.

12. *carefull* = care-stricken, anxious. So Luke x. 41, &c.

16. *her Masters second comming.* See I Thess. iv. 16, 17.

19. *feature.* *Feature* is a corruption of the Latin *factura* (cp. *feat*, *fact*, &c.) = shape, fashion, 'make.' See Chaucer's *Manciple's Tale*:

' Therto he was the semlieste man

That is or was, sithen the world bigan;

What nedith it his *features* to descriue?'

Holland's *Annianus*, p. 27: 'A man of goodly presence and well favoured, and comely shape and *feature* of body, his lims streight and proportionably compact.' (Apud Richardson.) See *As You Like It*, III. iii. 3; *Par. Lost*, x. 278:

' So scented the grim *feature*, and upturned
His nostril wide into the murky air.'

Bacon has *facture*, as Adv. of Learning, ii. 9. 2, ed. Wright: 'For Aristotle hath very ingeniously and diligently handled the *factures* of the body but not the gestures of the body, which are no less comprehensible by art and of greater use and advantage.' Elsewhere he speaks of 'the *facture* or framing of the inward parts.' See Trench's *Sel. Gloss.*, s. v.

22. *obsequies* = acts of worship. Cp. *obsequious*, &c. The word here is rather from the Lat. *obsequium* than *obsequiae* (= *exequiae*). So Bale's *Image*, part ii: 'With all faithful *obsequy* worshippe hym therefore that created heaven and earthe in wonderfull strength and bewty.' See other instances in Richardson.

24. *it smites*, &c. Cp. *Par. Lost*, iii. 380, 381:

' Dark' with excessive light thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heaven.'

26. *Combust.* 'When a planet is not above eight degrees and a half distant from the sun, either before or after him, it is said to be *combust* or *in combustion*.' (Harris, apud Johnson.) See Chaucer's *Tr. and Cr.* iii. 96:

'An if ich hadde, O Venus ful of myrthe.
Aspectes badde of Mars or of Saturne
Or thou *combust*,' &c.

Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy: 'Guianerius had a patient could make Latin verses when the moon was *combust*, otherwise illiterate.' See Skeat's Chaucer's Astrolabe, Gloss. The only planets 'oft *combust*' are those of inferior magnitude—Venus, Mercury, Vulcan. The last is nearly always so; hence its late discovery.

29. *firmament*. *Firmamentum* is the Vulgate's rendering of the Septuagint *στρέψωμα*. Trench's Sel. Gloss., s. v. See Par. Lost, iii. 573–579.

32. *unfrocking*. *Frock* denoted specially the gown worn by ecclesiastics. See 'St. Francis *frock*' in The Creed of Piers Plowman l. 293. (quoted by Fairholt, p. 117 of his Costume in England). Cp. old Fr. *frocard* = a monk. See Queen Elizabeth's famous letter to Bishop Cox, when he resisted a certain 'spoliation' she proposed: 'Proud Prelate, you know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not immediately comply with my request, by God I will *unfrock* you. Elizabeth.' (Student's Hallam's England, p. 112, note.)

I. 44. 3. *economical* = relating to house management, domestic, &c. The original sense of the word.

5. *Zwinglius*. Zwingli was born 1484, died 1531. His life has been written by Hess (tr. by Lucy Aikin), and Hottinger (tr. by Porter).

Calvin. 1509–1564. His life has been written by Bungener, Bolsec, Beza, Massou, Paul Henry, Audin, Dyer, Strähelin (Hole's Biog. Dict.).

6. *beacon'd up to us* = lighted up as a beacon or signal for us. *Beacon* is A.-S. *beacen*, a sign, nod. Cp. *beck*, *beckon*.

stark, originally = stiffly, rigidly; and so inflexibly, unalterably, completely. Of the same root is the Gr. *στρεπέος*.

12. *Syntagma* = 'Collection,' general handbook, summary. See e. g. Hallam's account of Gassendi's *Syntagma Philosophicum*, published 1658, Lit. of Europe, v. 194.

15. *searching* = investigating, exploring. Psalm cxxxix. 1: 'O Lord, thou hast *searched* me and known me,' &c.

18. *homogeneal*, and *proportionall*. It consists only of truth; and each part bears a certain relation to the other parts. One truth does not overpower another.

the golden rule. The Rule of Proportion was so styled; see e. g. Barnard Smith's Arithmetic, p. 196, ed. 1862: 'Almost all questions which arise in the common concerns of life so far as they require calculation by numbers, might be brought within the scope of the Rule of Three, which enables us to find the fourth term in a proportion, and which on account of its great use and extensive application is often called the "Golden Rule."'

26. *discours*. See above, p. 103.

27. *the highest* is grammatically co-ordinate with *any point*.

28. *her*. See above, p. 67.

Therefore the studies, &c. Milton ignores the profound change of population in this island in the fifth and sixth centuries. He speaks as if the *English* were all one with the *Britons*. So Cowper in his *Boadicea, &c.*

29. *that Writers, &c.* In the notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion*, song i., we are told that 'Lipsius doubts whether Pythagoras received' the doctrine of metempsychosis 'from the Druids, or they from him, because in his travels he convers'd as well with Gaulish as Roman philosophers;' and referred to 'Physiol. Stoic. bk. iii. dissertation 12.' See this work in Justi Lipsii *Opera Omnia*, 1675, vol. iv. On p. 992, speaking of metempsychosis, he says, 'An a Pythagora Druides hauserint nescio; an potius ipse ab illis; nam auctores habeo Gallos eum audisse et Brachmanas.' As an authority, he names in a side-note Clemens Alexandrinus; in whose *Stromata*, i. chap. 15; p. 770, vol. i. of Clem. Alex. *Opera*, in Migne's *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* we find: ὃ δὲ Πλάτων δῆλον ὡς σεμνίνων δὲ τὸν βαρβάρον εὑρίσκεται μεμνημένος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ γενναιότατα τῶν δογμάτων ἐν βαρβάροις μαθόντας. The superior antiquity of British to Roman learning is insisted upon in the tenth song of the *Polyolbion*. For the *Persian wisdom*, see Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 4: 'Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis caeremoniis ut dedisse Persis videri possit.'

31. *the school of Pythagoras.* There is an old building at Cambridge traditionally known, from the sixteenth century at least, as 'Pythagoras' school.' According to the opinion Milton here quotes, it was, one may suppose, the place where that philosopher received, not gave, instruction. It is the building known as Merton Hall (it stands on a piece of ground belonging to Merton College, Oxford), and lately devoted to the service of lady students. 'Pythagoras' school, in a garden adjoining St. John's College walks, is falsely supposed to have been one of these [inns or hostels], where the Croyland monks read lectures; but is really the infirmary to St. John's Hospital. Edward the Fourth took it from King's College here, and gave it to Merton College, Oxford; whose property it has ever since been, and is sometimes called Merton Hall.' (Wilson's *Memorabilia Cantabrigiae*.) See an account of this 'School' in Grose's *Antiquities*. See also Mayor's Baker's *Hist. of St. John's Coll.*, Camb.

33. *civill.* See p. 3, l. 25, note.

P. 45. 1. *Julius Agricola.* 37-93 A.D. See his life by his son-in-law Tacitus.

who govern'd once here. From 78 to 85 A.D.

for Caesar. He governed for Vespasian, for Titus (79-81), and for Domitian.

prefer'd, &c. See Tacitus' Agric. 21, of Agricola's high policy: 'Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et *ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre* ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiserent.' See Selden's note to Drayton's *Polyolbion*, song vi., p. 218 of vol. iv of Chalmers' *British Poets*, 1810.

3. *the naturall wits, &c.* So Neckam (see Wright's Biog. Lit., A. N. Period, p. 454):

‘Ingenium dat ei genius subtile, quod artes
Mechanicas subdit ingenuasque sibi.’

3. *that the grave and frugal Transilvanian, &c.* I do not know of any other mention of this fact in general literature; but its accuracy is, I am informed, attested by the Registers of the old Universities. Many Transylvanians went abroad in the seventeenth century to study at the great universities—at Paris, at Prague, in Holland. That some came to England would therefore be probable. See a mention of ‘some Moravian Students passing through London,’ in Masson's account of Hartlib's Correspondence with Comenius, *Life of Milton*, iii. 202. Transylvania had during the Thirty Years' War made itself conspicuous on the Protestant side. This was mainly due to the energy and talent of Bethlem-Gabor (= Gabriel Bethlem), Prince from 1613 to 1629. As Lobb points out, there is a letter from Cromwell to his successor; see it in Milton's Works amongst the *Litterae Oliverii Protectoris*. It is full of good-will and sympathy, and frankly recognises the Prince as co-worker in the great Protestant cause. ‘Cum autem vestra in rempublicam Christianam praeclara merita laboresque suscepti ad nos usque fama pervenerint, et haec omnia certius, et quae amplius rei Christianae vel defendendae vel promovendae causa in animo habeatis, celsitudo vestra suis literis communicata nobis anicissime voluerit, ea uberiorem insuper laetandi materiam nobis attulere: Deum nempe iis in regionibus excitasse sibi tam potentem atque egregium suae gloriae ac providentiae ministrum; qui, cum virtute atque armis tantum possit, de religione communi Protestantium tuenda, cui nunc undique male et dictum et factum est, nobiscum una sociare consilia cupiat.’ See this letter Englished on pp. 606, 607 of Works. A sufficient specimen of friendly epistolary intercourse. And it is highly credible, without any such decisive authority as the text, that such friendliness existing, and Lutheranism flourishing so vigorously in the country, natives of it should have visited England, which in the early seventeenth century was the leading Protestant power of Europe. The glory of Transylvania did not last long. In 1689 it became finally subject to Austria. It was however ‘governed by its own princes until the extinction of their line in 1713, when it was incorporated with Hungary. Maria Theresa erected it into a grand principality in 1765. (Pop. Encycl.)

5. *the mountainous borders of Russia.* Strictly, the S.E. part of the kingdom of Poland and a piece of Moldavia lay between Transylvania and Russia. The mountains referred to are offsets of the Carpathians. It may be noticed that Hartlib, to whom in the year the *Areopagitica* was written he dedicated his Tractate on Education, was of a Polish family. See Dircks' Memoir of Hartlib; also Masson's *Life of Milton*, iii. 193 et seq.

6. *the Hercynian wildernes* = Hercynia Silva, or Hercynius Saltus (Pliny and Tacitus), or Hercynium jugum (Pliny). ‘Under this general name

Caesar appears to have included all the mountains and forests in the south and centre of Germany, the Black Forest, Odenwald, Thüringerwald, the Harz, the Erzgebirge, the Riesengebirge, &c. As the Romans became better acquainted with Germany, the name was confined to narrower limits. Pliny and Tacitus use it to indicate the range of mountains between the Thüringerwald and the Carpathian Mountains. The name is still preserved in the modern Harz and Erz.' (Smith's Class. Dict.) See Caesar's *De B. G.*, vi. 24, et seq.; Tacitus, *Germ.*, 30, &c. The name *Transylvania* = the country beyond the forest, i. e. beyond what are called the 'Carpathian forests.' The Hungarian name, *Erdely*, signifies the 'mountainous forest.'

7. *their stay'd men.* Cp. Thucydides' *οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῷ καθεστηκίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ* (ii. 36); Cicero's 'Constans aetas.'

8. *that which is above all this, &c.* Cp. *Samson Agonistes*, 1718-20.

10. *propending.* Shakspere, *Tr. and Cr.* ii. 2. 190:

'My spritely brethren, I *propend* to you
In resolution to keep Helen still.'

11. *Why else, &c.* See Of Reformation in England. In one passage (p. 2, Milton's Works) he speaks of England 'having had this grace and honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all Christendom,' &c.

12. *as out of Sion, &c.* See *Joel* ii. 1: 'Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain,' &c.

14. *and had it not been, &c.* See Of Reformation in England: '... although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding Reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns.'

16. *to supprese him as a schismatic and innovator.* Cp. Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*: '... the names of heretic and schismatic which they [the Roman Catholics] with infinite pertinacity fasten upon all that disagree with them.'

17. *innovator.* See Bacon's *Essays*, 'On Innovations.'

Husse. See a list of biographies of him in *Hole's Biog. Dict.*; see also Milman's *Latin Christ.*, viii. chap. 9.

Jerom, i. e. Jerome of Prague. See Milman.

18. *Luther.* See a list of lives of Luther in *Hole*. Michelet has 'collected and arranged' 'the Life of Luther by himself' (tr. by Hazlitt, 1846). See also Stephen's *Essays in Eccl. Biog.*, à propos of D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*.

27. *ev'n to the reformation of Reformation it self.* See Of Reformation in England, *passim*.

32. *a City of refuge.* See Numbers xxxv. 9-15.

33. *the mansion house.* 'When the king had given to any of them two thousand acres of land, this party purposing in this place to make a dwelling

or, as the old word is, his *mansion-house* or his *manor-house*, did devise how he might make his land a complete habitation to supply him with all manner of necessaries.' (Bacon's Use of Law, *apud* Richardson.)

P. 46. 3. *the plates and instruments*, &c., i. e. defensive and offensive armour. *Plates*=breast-plates, almost the only defensive armour still worn in Milton's time.

14. *a Nation of Prophets*. See Numbers xi. 29.

We reck'n more then five months, &c. Cp. John iv. 35. The *Areopagitica* was published in November, 1644. Perhaps 'the harvest' means the successes to be achieved, as was hoped, by the new modelled army in the campaign of 1645.

19. *opinion*. This word has very diverse senses in Eliz. Eng.; hear e. g. Gratiano on 'this fool gudgeon, this *opinion*', in M. of Ven., i. 1. 86-102.

20. *fantastic*=purely fanciful; as *fantastical* in Macbeth, i. 3. 139.
of=in connection with, about, over.

27. *a little forbearance of one another*. See Ephes. iv. 2, and Col. iii. 13.

31. *free consciences*. See On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament:

'Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free?'

And the sonnet To the Lord General Cromwell:

'Help us to save *free conscience* from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

P. 47. 3. *extended*, i. e. advanced, expanded.

4. *he would cry out as Pirrhus did*, &c., after the battle of Heraclea, (280 B.C.). Florus' version is—Pyrrhus of course would speak Greek—'O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare aut mihi Romanis militibus aut me rege Romanis.' (i. 18. 17.)

5. *Pirrhus*. 318-272 B.C. 'The fierce Epirot' of the Sonnet to Sir Henry Vane the younger. See Dickson's Mommsen, i. bk. ii. chap. 7.

6. *Epirots*=*Ηπειρώται*, Epirus-men. Strictly, *ἡπειρός*=mainland. *Epirot* sometimes=Asiatic, as Isocrates, 68 A.

7. *despair*. See the note on *scrupl'd*, p. 10, l. 4.

10. *as if, while the Temple*, &c. See I Kings v, vi.

building. See note on *explaining*, p. 22, l. 16.

12. *a sort of irrational men*. See M. of Ven., i. 1. 88.

20. *brotherly dissimilitudes*. Cp. the use of the Gr. *ἀδελφός* frequent in Plato. See above, p. 67. So Latin *geminus* and *gemellus*, as Horace, Satires, ii. 3. 244:

'Par nobile fratrum,

Nequitia nugis pravorum et amore *gemellum*.'

26. *wherein Moses*, &c. See Numbers xi. 24-30, especially 29: 'And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them.'

31. *as Joshua then was.* See 1. c. 28.

33. *will undo us, &c.* He adopts the 'direct oration.'

P. 48. 2. *anough.* See above, p. 81.

6. *maniples*=companies. A technical term in the Roman army. The size of it varied at different times. In the fourth century, B.C., it consisted of sixty privates, two centurions, and a standard-bearer. Strictly, the word is supposed to mean a number of men serving under the same ensign, *manipulus* signifying originally 'a handful' or wisp of hay, straw, fern, or the like which, primitively, did duty as a standard.

7. *brigade.* 'Brigade venu au seizième siècle de l'Ital. *brigata* (divisior d'armée).' (Brachet.) The stem is said to be Low Latin *briga*=strife, which is probably of Celtic origin. Cognate are *brigand*, *brigandine*, *brigantine*.

13. *when a City, &c.* See in Knight's Pop. Hist. of Eng., iii. 498, second edition, 'a Plan of the Fortifications and City of London.' There were forts from Whitechapel Road to Hyde Park Corner, and on the other side of the river from Vauxhall to 'near the Lock Hospital in Kent Street.' The order for this fortifying was issued by the Parliament in September or October, 1642. 'The population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out day by day to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.' (Knight.) See May's History of the Parliament. On November 12 the Royalists occupied Brentford; on the 13th they advanced to Turnham Green, when, faced by Essex, they fell back without fighting to Colnbrook and so through Reading to Oxford. It must have been in this November that Milton wrote his sonnet 'When the assault was intended [=threatened—a Latinism] to the City'—a piece of pure poetry, his imagination excited by the thought of the poet's power, and how in the old days it had given protection in the midst of wreck and ruin.

14. *inrodes* (our *inroads*)=in-ridings, 'raids.'

15. *defiance.* Drayton's Polyolbion :

'And calling unto him a herald, quoth he, fly
To th' Earl of Le'ster's tents, and publickly proclaim
Defiance to his face and to the Montfort's name.'

I Sam. xvii. 10: 'And the Philistine said, I *defy* the armies of Israel this day; give me a man, that we may fight together.' Shaksp. Hen. V. iii.

5. 37.

20. *should be disputing, &c.* It was about the time Milton wrote that certain eminent men of science were beginning to hold those meetings which eventuated in the formation of the Royal Society.

21. *ev'n to a rarity, and admiration*, i.e. with a degree of acuteness altogether rare and admirable.

25. *derives it self*=flows on, proceeds.

28. *who, when Rome, &c.* See Livy, xxvi. 11: 'Minuere etiam spem ejus [Hannibal's hope of taking Rome] et aliae, parva magnaque, res: magna illa, quod quum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub

vexillis in supplementum Hispaniae profectos audivit; parva autem, quod per eos dies eum forte agrum, in quo ipse castra haberet, venisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio, cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum ejus soli, quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque, inventum Romae emptorem; ut extemplo vocato paecone, tabernas argentarias quae circum forum Romanum tunc essent, jusserit venire.'

when Rome, &c. B.C. 211.

30. at no cheap rate. See Livy's 'nihil ob id deminuto pretio.'

31. *regiment*=that part of the army that was especially under his command. Spenser uses the word for 'lesser kingdom,' Faerie Queene, ii. 9. 59.

32. *happy successe*. See note above, p. 61.

P. 49. 1. *not only to, &c.*; i.e. not only as far as, not only as touching, &c. Cp. 'ev'n to the ballatry,' &c. p. 24.

2. *pertest*=sprightliest, proudest, highest. See Chaucer's Reeve's Tale:
'And she was proud and pert as any pie.'

Shakspere, Troilus and Cressida, iv. 5. 219:

'For yonder walls that perily front your town,' &c.

Perhaps *perk* is the same word. (Comp. wait and wake, mate and make, cate and cake.) Spenser has 'perke as a peacock,' Shephearde's Calender, ii. 8. Some say the word is of Welsh origin—'pert, smart, spruce, pert' (Spurrell); but it is a native Welsh word, or an importation?

5. *sprightly up*. *Sprightly* is used adverbially here. *Up*=excited.

10. *casting off the old and wrincl'd skin*, &c. Cp. Shakspere, Henry V, iv. 1. 20:

'And when the mind is quicken'd, out of doubt,
The organs, though defunct and dead before,
Break up their drowsy grave and newly move,
With casted slough and fresh legerity.'

11. *wax young again*. Cp. Dryden's Vergil's Georgics, iii.:

'When he, renew'd in all the speckled pride
Of pompous youth, has cast his slough aside,
And in his summer livery rolls along
Erect, and brandishing his fork tongue,' &c.

Vergil's words are (437, 438):

'Quum positis novus exuviis nitidusque juventa
Volvitur.'

14. *methinks*=meseems, it seems to me ('them seem'd,' Spenser, Prothalamion, 60). *Thinks* in this compound is from the A.-S. *thincan*, to seem, a quite distinct verb from *thencan*, to think. Comp. Germ. *denken*, and *dünken*.

15. *like a strong man*, &c. He is thinking of the Samson, long years after to be the hero of his noble drama. See Judges xvi. 13, 14.

16. *her invincible locks*. See in the gorgeous allegorising of the story of Samson near the close of The Reason of Church Government: 'his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his god-like shoulders;

... those bright and weighty tresses of his laws and just prerogatives which were his ornament and strength; ... his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right.'

17. *muing*, literally = renewing by moulting. Commonly *mue* or *mew* = simply, 'to moult,' specially of hawks; strictly, to change, Fr. *muer*, Lat. *mutare*. Thus Bacon's Essays, Of Kingdomes and Estates: 'Whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them [mercenary forces], he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will *mew* them soon after,' &c. *Mews* meant originally places where falcons cast their coats; then generally places for keeping them; and then = stables.

21. *noise* here in a concrete sense. So 'Sneak's *noise*,' 2 Henry IV, ii. 4. 12, See Nares.

flocking birds, i.e. birds that dare not essay solitary and independent flights, but hover about in companies; *not oiaivoi* = lone-flying birds. (*Oiaivós* = the eagle, Homer, Iliad, xxiv. 292, &c.)

23. *gabble*. See Shakspere, All's Well that Ends Well, iv. i. 22: 'Choughs' language, *gabble* enough, and good enough' of the lingo Parolles is to be deceived with.

24. *a year*. He is thinking of the almanack-makers and their prophecies. *Prognosticate* was specially used of astrologers and almanack-makers; as in the old song, When the King enjoys his own again:

'What Booker can *prognosticate*,
Considering now the kingdom's state?'

Booker was an almanack-maker of the day. See Percy's MS. Folio, ed. Hales and Furnivall, ii. 24.

28. *ingrossers*. See above, p. 83.

30. *bushel*. The word is in fact *box* with a diminutival suffix.

P. 50. 4. *your own mild*, &c. Even Hunie admires ardently the early career of the Long Parliament; see History of England, chap. 54. Hallam, who considers that in the end it 'subverted the constitution,' speaks of 'those admirable provisions by which' in the beginning 'this Parliament restored and consolidated the shattered fabric.' See Constitutional History of England, chap. ix.

6. *purchast* = procured. So commonly in Old English. The radical meaning is 'to *chase* or seek for.' Fr. *pourchasser* (*pour-chasser*). See Chaucer's Prologue, 256:

'His *purchace* was ful bettur than his rente.'

8. *the influence of heav'n*. The word *influence* was specially used of certain occult streams of power believed to emanate from the heavenly bodies. See 'all the skiey *influences*,' Measure for Measure, iii. i. 9; 'planetary *influence*,' King Lear, i. 2. 135; 'the moist star upon whose *influence* Neptune's empire stands,' Hamlet i. i. 118; 'the sacred *influence* of light,' Paradise Lost, ii. 1034. &c. See Trench's Study of Words.

23. *an abrogated and mercilesse law*, &c. 'From the most remote ages the power of a Roman father over his children, including those by adoption

as well as by blood, was unlimited. A father might, without violating any law, scourge or imprison his son, or sell him for a slave, or *put him to death*, even after that son had risen to the highest honours in the state. This jurisdiction was not merely nominal; but in early times was not unfrequently exercised to its full extent, and was confirmed by the laws of the XII Tables.²⁵ This 'jus vitae et necis' by degrees 'fell into desuetude; and long before the close of the republic the execution of a son by order of his father, although not forbidden by any positive statute, was regarded as something strange and, unless under extraordinary circumstances, monstrous. But the right continued to exist in theory, if not in practice, for three centuries after the establishment of the empire, and was not formally abrogated till A.D. 318.'²⁶ Ramsay's Roman Antiquities, 'The Patria Potestas.'

25. *sticke closest.* Prov. xviii. 24. Cp. *adhere*, Lat. *adhaerere*.

26. *for cote and conduct, &c.*; i.e. to resist illegal taxation for the clothing and conveyance of troops, and also for the provision of a navy. See Butler's Characters, The Herald: 'He will join as many shields together as would make a Roman testudo or Macedonian phalanx, to fortify the nobility of a new made lord that will pay for the impresting of them, and allow him *Coat and conduct money*.'

His four nobles of Danegelt; i.e. ship-money. A very odd periphrasis. Why 'four nobles' it is not easy to see. The noble, first struck in Edward III's reign, and current till that of Elizabeth, was worth 6s. 8d. (see the joke, Shakspere, I Henry IV, ii. 4. 317 and 327; the *royal* = 10s.). Twenty shillings, i.e. *three* nobles, was the amount for which Hampden was sued. See Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 436. 'Lord Nugent,' says Hallam in a note, 'has published a facsimile of the return made by the assessors of ship-money for the parish of Great Kimble, wherein Mr. Hampden is set down for 31s. 6d., and is returned with many others as refusing to pay. Memoir of Hampden and his Times, vol. i. p. 230. But the suit in the Exchequer was not on account of this demand, but for 20s. as stated in the text for property situate in the parish of Stoke Mandeville.' *Danegelt* = Dane-money, was the name of an ancient land-tax levied to provide means for bribing off or for repelling the Danes. It was 'first raised by Ethelred II in 991, and again in 1003, &c. . . was suppressed by Edward the Confessor in 1051, revived by William the Conqueror 1068, and formed part of the revenue of the Crown, until abolished by Stephen 1136. Every hide of land . . . was taxed at first 1s., afterwards as much as 7s.' (Haydn's Dict. of Dates.) Upon this highly dubious precedent the King's advisers greatly relied in their advocacy and exaction of ship-money. See St. John's speech and the Solicitor-General's (Sir Edward Littleton) reply at Hampden's trial; State Trials, iii. 825-1316, ed. 1809. The first suggester of the odious tax was Noy. To Finch is due the credit of its extension from the sea-ports to the whole kingdom. See Hallam, i. 434, et seq.; Gardiner's Personal Government of Charles I, ii. 66, &c.

27. *although I dispraise not, &c.* Milton never actually fought in the

Parliamentary ranks. So much might be suspected from the passage in the text; but there is also quite direct and decisive evidence on the point. Professor Masson in the second volume of his valuable Life of Milton discusses the question at length. He finds in the poet's writings such a remarkable familiarity with military details as to create a presumption that he had seen service; and, from a moral point of view, he conceives that Milton was bound to have served. But he is satisfied by Milton's eighth sonnet that he did not serve. He seems to overlook a passage in one of the prose works that is as explicit as possible. In the *Defensio Secunda* Milton defends himself against the possible imputation of cowardice or sloth because he had not served. He claims no share, he says, in the glory of those who by their most honourable arms had repelled slavery. Far other were the weapons of his warfare. See p. 708 of Works: 'Atque illi quidem [those who took up arms for the laws and religion] Deo perinde confisi, servitutem honestissimis armis pepulere; *cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vindico, a reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviae, si qua infertur, facile me tueor.* Neque enim militiae labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non *alia ratione et operam multo utiliorem nec minore cum periculo meis civibus navarim et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam neque ullius invidiae vel etiam mortis plus aequo metuentem praestiterim.* Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis ut qui maxime deditus et ingenio semper quam corpore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, qua me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superasset, ad ea me contuli quibus plus potui; ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si saperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriae causamque hanc praestantissimam quantum maxime possem momentum accederem. Sic itaque existimabam, si illos Deus res gerere tam paeclaras voluit, esse itidem alios a quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque ornari, et defensam armis veritatem ratione etiam (quod unicum est praesidium vere ac proprie humanum) defendi voluerit. Unde est ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror, de mea interim provincia non querar; immo mihi gratulor et gratias insuper largitori munerum caelesti iterum suimas agam obtigisse talem ut aliis invidenda multo magis quam mihi ullo modo poenitentia videatur.' For a translation see p. 920 of Works.

29. *utter* = παρηστάζεσθαι.

32. *unequall* = Lat. *iniquum*.

33. *to a customary acceptance* = to what is commonly received.

P. 51. 2. *one of your own honourable number.* Robert Greville, Lord Brook, adopted son of the 'friend to Sir Philip Sidney' (see the epitaph in St. Mary's Church, Warwick), born 1607, shot from Lichfield Cathedral tower as he was preparing an assault, March 1, 1642. See Clarendon, vi; Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 185; Murray's Western Cathedrals; Wood's Ath. Oxon. ii. 433, ed. Bliss, 1815, &c. Also Scott's *Marmion*, vi. 36.

3. *a right noble and pious lord, &c.* He was deeply bewailed, as he had been deeply loved and admired. See e. g. England's *Losse* and *Lamentation*

occasioned by the death of that Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke, &c., a pamphlet of the time full of enthusiasm and of grief; and also a black-bordered fly-sheet in the British Museum containing 'An Elegy upon the death of the mirrour of magnanimity the right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke,' &c., 'ex opere (praesertim) Henrici Haringtoni.'

8. *He writing of Episcopacy, &c.* The title of this work was, 'A discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacie which is exercised in England. Wherein, with all Humility, are represented some Considerations tending to the much desired Peace and long expected Reformation of this our Mother Church.'

10. *vote* = Lat. *votum*, his earnest wish.

13. *his last testament, &c.* See John xiv. 27.

16. *he there exhorts us, &c.* See sect. ii. 7, 'Of the danger of Schismes and sects more fully discuss'd; the nature and danger of Anabaptisme, Separatisme, and Unlicensed Preaching. The conclusion with an affectionate desire of Peace and Union.' Cp. Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying, passim.*

20. *disconformity.* In the Tetrachordon he speaks of 'utter unfitness, utter *disconformity*, not reconcileable because not to be amended without a miracle.' Barrow has: 'Dissent from his [St. Peter's] opinion or *disconformity* to his practice.' (Of the Pope's Supremacy, *apud* Richardson.)

28. *the Temple of Janus, &c.* He means it is a time of glorious strife and battle. Truth and Falsehood are opposed face to face. Janus's temple was, as is well known, opened in time of war, closed in peace. See Livy, i. 19, of Numa: 'Mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit: apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.' And the historian goes on to say it had been twice closed since Numa's day. See Aeneid, vii. 601-623, &c. 'In all probability' the edifice 'served originally as a gate to the citadel [arched passages were called Jani], and may be identified with the Porta Janualis named by Varro.' (Ramsay's Rom. Antiq.)

29. *with his two controversial faces.* He was styled 'Bifrons.' See Aeneid, vii. 180; xii. 198, &c. See Ovid, Fasti, i. 25:

'Tum sacer, *ancipi*ti mirandus *imagine*, Janus
Bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis,' &c.

Possibly some 'pun' is intended on 'controversial' and 'controversial.'

P. 52. 2. *her confuting*, i.e. confutation by her. See Student's Marsh's Lectures, p. 276: 'Youre feir' = the fear of you, &c. So 'thy wide alarms,' in Spenser's Prothalamion 158.

6. *beyond the discipline of Geneva, &c.*; i.e. beyond what seems to the Presbyterians so adequate and perfect.

discipline = the doctrines, the 'school,' &c. Lat. *disciplina*, as Cicero, Academica, ii. 3, &c.

7. *fabric't.* We should say *fabricated*.

11. *to seek for wisdom, &c.* See Matt. xiii. 44.

16. *in all their equipage*; i. e. in all their proper equipment, in their full form and state. See Sonnet to Sir Henry Vane the Younger, l. 9. The radical notion probably is 'with their full rigging,' *equip* being ultimately connected with *ship*, *skip*, the *e* being a mere vocal prefix. See Brachet.

17. *battell* = army. Cp. *battalion*. So frequently in older English. *Macbeth*, v. 6. 2:

‘You, worthy uncle,
Shall with my cousin, your right noble son,
Lead our first *battle*.’

2 *Henry IV*, iv. 1. 154:

‘Our *battle* is more full of names than yours.’

19. *offers him the advantage of wind and sun*. Cp. Theocritus, xx. 83, 84, ed. Ahrens, of the fight between Amukos and Poludeukes (Pollux):

‘ἐνθα πολὺς σφισι μόχθος ἐπειγομένοισιν ἐπύχθη,
ὅππότερος κατὰ νῶτα λάβοι φάος ἡελίοιο.

(Wüstemann and Paley read λάβῃ.) Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 3. 366-369, of the metaphorical combat with 'these girls of France':

‘King. Saint Cupid, then! and, soldiers, to the field!

Biron. Advance our standards, and upon them, lords;

Pell-mell, down with them! but be first advised,

In conflict that you get the sun of them.’

Where Malone notes that our having the sun at our back and in the enemy's face was a great advantage to us at Agincourt. In the fights in the old Romances of Chivalry there is often much striving to get this advantage. See in More's *Edw. V*, and in *Rich. III*, how Richmond at Bosworth 'had the sun in his back, and it shone full in the faces of his enemies.' See also Lay of the Last Minstrel, v. 18; the *Talisman*, &c.

21. *by dint of argument*; i. e. by blows dealt or inflicted by argument, by arguments driven home, &c. Cp. 'dynt of launce,' Robert of Brunne; 'dint of sword,' *Faerie Queene*, vi. 6. 1, and 2 *Henry IV*, iv. 1. 128, &c. So, metaphorically, as in the text, 'the *dint* of pity,' Julius Caesar, iii. 2. 198, &c.

22. *to keep a narrow bridge*, &c. It is very common in the Romances of Chivalry for a bridge to be occupied by some knight, with whom every one who passes over must fight, if he will not do obeisance or pay tribute. See *Faerie Queene*, v. 2. 4, where says the dwarf ('Florimells owne dwarfe'):

‘But in my way a little here beyond

A cursed' cruell Sarazin doth wonne,

That keepes a bridges passage by strong hond,

And many errant knights hath there fordonne;

That makes all men for feare that passage for to shonne.’

In stanzas 11-19 is described the fight between Artegall and this savage toll-keeper. Warton refers to Ariosto, xxix. 35; also to *La Morte d'Arthur*.

28. *those are the shifts*, &c. 'For these winding and crooked courses are

the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly and not upon the feet.' Bacon's Essays, Of Truth.

31. *old Proteus*. See Georgics. iv. 387-452, especially

'Est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite vates
Caeruleus Proteus, &c.'

..... novit namque omnia vates,
Quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur.

Hic tibi, nate, prius vinclis capiendus ut omnem
Expediat morbi causam, eventusque secundet.'

Ovid, Fasti, i. 367-374, where that same story of Aristaeus is told; especially 370:

'Impediant geminas vincula firma manus.'

'That water-sprites have the gift of prophecy has been the belief of many nations.' See Thorpe's Northern Mythology, i. 246.

33. *she turns herself into all shapes except her own*. So Proteus. See Ovid, i. c.:

'Ille suam faciem transformis adulterat arte;

and Vergil:

'Ille suae contra non immemor artis
Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluviumque liquentem.'

Also *Romaunt of the Rose*, 6322, where says False Semblant:

'For Protheus that cowde him chaunge
In every shape homely and straunge,

Cowde nevere sich gile ne tresounre

As I,' &c.

P. 53. 2. *as Micaiah*, &c. See 1 Kings xxii. 1-28, especially 13-15. 'And the messenger that was gone to call Micaiah spake unto him, saying. Behold now, the words of the prophets declare good unto the king with one mouth: let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak that which is good. And Micaiah said, As the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak. So he came to the king. And the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go against Ramoth-gilead to battie, or shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go, and prosper; for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king.' An answer sadly at variance with the imminent fact, which, happily recovering his integrity, he proceeds to predict. See also 2 Chron. xviii.

5. *things indifferent*. Cp. the Stoic $\tau\alpha\ \delta\delta\iota\alpha\phi\sigma\alpha$, res mediae, indifferentes. See Cicero, De Finibus, iii. 16. 53.

7. *those ordinances*, &c. Colossians ii. 14: 'Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.'

9. *purchase*. See above, p. 50, l. 6.

Paul so often, &c., e.g. Galatians v. 1.

10. *his doctrine is, &c.* Romans xiv. 5-9.

17. *the ghost of a linnen decency, &c.* The thing itself had been suppressed, but the spirit of it still hovered around.

a linnen decency = the shallow decorum of surplices and vestments, a superficial respectability, a mere external orderliness. Milton was no admirer of ecclesiastical 'spinstry,' as he calls it,—of 'superstitious copes and Baminical vestures.' See Reason of Church Government, ii. 2, p. 46 of Works: Animadversions, Works, p. 72, &c.

27. *stark.* See above, p. 43, l. 18.

28. *wood and hay and stubble.* See 1 Cor. iii. 12.

30. *subdichotomies* = minor divisions. $\Delta\iota\chi\sigma\tau\omega\mu\alpha$ is used by Aristotle; $\delta\iota\chi\sigma\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\omega$ by Aristotle and Plato (Politicus, 302 E.).

P. 54. 1. *to sever the wheat, &c.* Matthew xiii. 24-30, especially 29.

2. *frie.* Fry properly = the spawn of fish. It is common in a general sense, often with a notion of contempt. Thus, 'What a *fry* of fools is here,' in Beaumont and Fletcher's Coronation, i. 1; 'young *fry* of treachery,' Macbeth, iv. 284, &c.

the Angels Ministry. See Matthew xiii. 37-43.

6. *I mean not tolerated Popery, &c.* See Jeremy Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, chap. xx., How far the Religion of the Church of Rome is Tolerable: 'If we consider their doctrines in relation to government and public societies of men, then, if they prove faulty, they are so much the more intolerable by how much the consequents are of greater danger and malice. Such doctrines as these—the pope may dispense with all oaths taken to God or man; he may absolve subjects from their allegiance to their natural prince; faith is not to be kept with heretics; heretical princes may be slain by their subjects—these propositions are so depressed and do so immediately communicate with matter and the interests of men that they are of the same consideration with matters of fact, and are to be handled accordingly,' &c. See also Locke, On Toleration, 1st Letter: 'That Church can have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate which is constituted on such a bottom that all those who enter into it do thereby *ipso facto* deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince,' &c. For further exhibition of Milton's views, see A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, p. 417 of Works, and Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration, p. 564: 'Let us now inquire whether popery be tolerable or not,' &c. See Dean Nowell's views a century before, in Milman's St. Paul's, pp. 303, 304.

9. *extirpat.* Cp. *frustrat*, p. 27, l. 17.

11. *that also which is impious, &c.* See Locke, On Toleration, 1st Letter: 'Those are not to be tolerated who deny the being of God,' &c.

17. *the unity of Spirit, &c.* See Ephesians iv. 3.

19. *would write.* Would in this use is virtually a present tense.

22. *bejesuited.* In his treatise On Divorce he has *belawgiv'n* ('whom they do not deny to have *belawgiv'n* his own sacred people with this very

allowance.') Cp. *be-knave, befriend, bejade* (Animadversions); *be-dwarf* ('*Donne*), *befool* (Gower), *bemartyr* (Fuller), &c. *Be-*=*by*; see Earle's *Philol.* § 559.

29. *ev'n as the person*, &c. It was said of St. Paul that 'his bodily presence' was 'weak' (2 Cor. x. 10.). Cp. Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, ch. xxxvi: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κ.τλ.*=' Upon his arrival in Egypt all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him; but when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, seated on the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing that this was the very thing represented in the fable, "The mountain had brought forth a mouse." Aemilius Probus's Life of Agesilaus (commonly assigned to Cornelius Nepos), chap. viii.: 'Atque hic tantus vir ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo. Nam et statura fuit humili et corpore exiguo et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem; atque ignoti, faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant, non poterant admirari satis.' See Bacon's *Essays, Of Deformity*: 'And therefore let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they [deformed persons] prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the Sonne of Solyman, Æsope, Gasca President of Peru; and Socrates may goe likewise amongst them; with others.'

30. *to see to*= to look towards or on. So *Comus*, 620; *Joshua* xxii. 10.

P. 55. 3. *when God shakes a Kingdome*, &c. Cp. *Joel* iii. 16; *Haggai* ii. 6, 7.

13. *his beam*. *Par. Lost*, iii. 2.

18. *to set places*. Cp. *Par. Lost*, xi. 836-838:

' . . . that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.'

19. *outward callings of men*, i.e. 'priests.' See *Of Reformation in England*.

20. *the old Convocation house*=the Chapter-house at Westminster. Till Wolsey's time Convocation met in St. Paul's. See Milman's *St. Paul's*, p. 289. Convocation was first summoned by writ in 1295. Its power was circumscribed by Henry VIII, but by no means destroyed. See Hallam's *Constit. Hist.* chap. xvi. of the Student's edition. The Convocations of 1603 and of 1640 had caused great irritation by an ill-timed deluded effort to impose certain regulations on the country at large.

21. *the Chappell at Westminster*. The Assembly of Divines met in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. Their first meeting was held on Sunday, July 1, 1643. See Short's *History of the Church of England*, § 585.

22. *all the faith*, &c. The works of the Assembly consisted of a Direc-

tory for Worship and Ordination, of a Confession of Faith, and two Catechisms, the larger and the shorter. 'Besides these there is a form of presbyterian Church government agreed upon by the Assembly, but not authorised.' (Short, § 590.)

22. *canoniz'd*, embodied in canons; so *κανονιζεῖν* in ecclesiastical Greek. I do not know that the word occurs elsewhere in this sense; but that is no objection to Milton's using it so. For the common sense, *canon* denoted the catalogue of saints and martyrs whose memory was by ecclesiastical law preserved in the festivals of the Church; hence *canonize*=to enrol in this catalogue. In Hamlet, i. 4. 47—

‘but tell

Why thy *canoniz'd* bones, hearsed in death,
Have burst their cerements’—

canoniz'd seems to be used loosely for ‘that have been buried duly according to the rule with all proper rites.’

24. *to supple the least bruise*, &c. See Jeremy Taylor's chapter ‘Of Compliance with disagreeing Persons or weak Consciences in general’ in his *Liberty of Prophesying*.

25. *edifie* is strictly to build up.

28. *Harry the 7*. See Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster*.

29. *with all his leige tombs about him*. Around him then lay the Lady Margaret his mother, Queen Elizabeth, her rival of Scotland, King James I and his Queen, &c.; to be joined subsequently by King Charles II, William III and Queen Mary, King George II, &c.

33. *that we doe not*, &c.=Lat. *quin*, &c.

P. 56. 4. *tasted learning*. Cp. Gr. *γεύεσθαι*. So Tennyson, In Memoriam, lxxxix :

‘He *tasted* love with half his mind,’ &c.

See the euphuistic phrase, and Viola's criticism of it, *Twelfth Night*, iii. 1. 88-92.

7. *manage*=take in hand. Fr. *ménager*, Lat. *manu agere*.

14. *perhaps neither among the Priests*, &c. Cp. Luke x. 30-27; Matthew v. 20.

21. *the beginning of this Parliament*. November 3, 1640.

24. *triple ice*. Cp. Horace's ‘aes triplex,’ *Odes*, i. 3. 9.

clung. If a ‘that’ has not dropped out of the text, *clung*=made to cling, attached or fastened on to, gathered. In *Par. Lost*, x. 512, of Satan's metamorphosis, *clung* may be either preterite or past participle:

‘His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His arms *clung* to his ribs, his legs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell,’ &c.

28. *the check that Moses*, &c. See above, p. 47.

29. *the countermand*, &c. See Luke ix. 50.

30. *young John*. According to tradition he was the youngest of the Apostles. The old Masters often portray him as in the prime of youth;

so Hans Memling (or Hemling), Isaac von Melem, Raphael, Domenichino, &c. See Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, vol. i. 157-172.

31. *whom he thought unlicenc't.* 'Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbad him, because he followeth not with us.' (Luke ix. 49.)

32. *our Elders.* The word *presbyterian* is derived from the Gr. *πρεσβύτερος* = 'elderly.'

testy. Literally = 'heady,' from O. Fr. *teste*; cp. Lat. *cerebrosus*.

P. 57. 1. *lett.* The old verb *let*, to hinder, is of quite distinct origin from our common verb *let*, to permit. It is the A.-S. *latian*. (The other *let* is the A.-S. *lætan*.) See the Glossary in Skeat's Piers the Plowman, Clar. Press ed.; Shaks. Henry V, v. 2. 65; Hamlet, i. 4. 85, &c.; Exodus v. 4; Romans i. 13; 2 Thess. ii. 7, &c.; also Bible Word-Book.

4. *the most Dominican part, &c.* See above, p. 35, l. 29.

6. *it would be no unequall distribution, &c.* See Ovid, Art. Am. i. 655:

'Neque enim lex aequior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.'

13. *that Order publisht next before this.* If the Order of January 29, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, is meant, that was the Order next but one before this; for there was another passed March 9, 164 $\frac{2}{3}$. The date of 'this' was June 14, 1643. The Order 'made by the Honourable House of Commons Die Sabbati, 29 Januarii, 1641,' is as follows (see Arber's Reprint, p. 24): 'It is ordered that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers shall be required to take especial Order, that the Printers doe neither print, nor reprint anything without the name and consent of the author. And that if any Printer shall notwithstanding print or reprint anything without the consent and name of the Author, that he shall then be proceeded against as both Printer and Author thereof, and their names to be certified to this House.'

17. *the fire.* It was common to order obnoxious books, or what were considered so, to be publicly burned.

the executioner. His function was not only to inflict death, but such minor penalties as branding, nose-slitting, ear-severing, &c. Of course all that the name means is one who fulfils or carries out the doom pronounced by the judge. Langland speaks of 'assisours and executours' (Piers Plowman).

19. *authentic Spanish policy* = policy genuinely and really Spanish. Certainly the distinction between *genuine* and *authentic* drawn by Bishop Watson in his Apology for the Bible, 1796, so often quoted (e.g. in later editions of Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity, first published 1794), holds good neither etymologically nor in practice. 'A *genuine book*,' he states, 'is that which was written by the person whose name it bears as the author of it. An *authentic book* is that which relates matters of fact as they really happened.' *Authentic* is the Gr. *ἀὐθεντικός*, 'warranted,' opposed to *ἀδέσποτος*. (Liddell and Scott.) See Cicero, Ep. ad Att. ix. 14: 'Atque eum loqui quidam *ἀὐθεντικῶς* narrabat,' &c. Ib. x. 9: 'Id enim *ἀὐθεντικῶς* nunciabatur,' &c. *Αὐθεντικός* is the adjective of *αὐθέντης*.

contracted from *αὐτοέντης*, 'one who does anything with his own hand;' an actual murderer, a suicide, &c. See *Eikonoklastes*, chap. 28: 'It were extreme partiality and injustice, the flat denial and overthrow of herself [of Justice] to put her own *authentic* sword into the hand of an unjust and wicked man.' See *Trench's Select Glossary*.

22. *a Star-chamber decree, &c.* See a copy of this Decree, 'made the eleventh day of July last past, 1637,' in *Arber's Reprint*, pp. 7-23.

Star-chamber. See *Hallam, Student's ed.*, pp. 28-30, 227-230. This shameful Court was abolished in 1641, along with that of the High Commission. There were some who would have revived it in 1661, but happily they were unable.

25. *with Lucifer.* See *Isaiah xiv. 12.*

29. *bind books, &c.*; i.e. 'bind them over,' as we say.

30. *your precedent Order.* See above.

31. *those men, &c.*; i.e. the booksellers.

33. *the fraud of some old patentees, &c.* These tradesmen had feared that certain privileges of their own might be encroached upon, should all restrictions upon Printing be removed.

P. 58. 1. *monopolizers.* See above, p. 33.

under pretence of the poor, &c. See the Order: 'And that no person or persons shall hereafter print, or cause to be reprinted, any Book or Books or part of Book or Books heretofore allowed of and granted to the said Company of Stationers for their relief and maintenance of their poore, without the licence or consent of the Master, Wardens, or Assistants of the said Company,' &c.

3. *the just retaining, &c.* He refers to this matter of copyright above, p. 5. *several.* *Several* is etymologically connected with *separate*. See note in *Longer English Poems on Hymn on the Nativity*, 234:

'Each fettered ghost slips to his *several* grave.'

5. *colours* = specious arguments, disguisings or misrepresentations, *exaggerations or extenuations, &c.* We still speak of a 'highly coloured account,' &c. This use of the word comes to us from the Latin rhetoricians. See *Quintilian, iv. 2. 28, et seq. &c.* *Juvenal, vi. 280:*

'Dic aliquem, sodes, hic, *Quintiliane, colorem,*' &c.

See *Chaucer's Squier's Tale*, Part ii; *Bacon's Coulers of Good and Evil*, a fragment, 1597, printed in the *Golden Treasury* edition of the *Essays*.

6. *to exercise, &c.* = to retain their advantages over other members of the bookselling trade.

12. *malignant* = anti-Parliamentary, Royalist, &c. Says the Tory Dr. Johnson: 'It was a word used of the defenders of the church and monarchy by the rebel sectaries in the civil wars.'

14. *these Sophisms and Elenchs of marchandize* = these trade considerations; more strictly, these fallacious arguments urged by the booksellers, and their refutations.

elenchs = *ἔλεγχοι*, Aristotle, *Analytica Priora*, ii. 20. 1. A syllogism

by which the adversary is forced to contradict himself was specially so called; but it is often used in a general sense. See Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, ll. 14, 5, 6: 'The second method of doctrine [the first is that part of logic which is comprehended in the 'Analytics'] was introduced for expedite use and assurance sake, discovering the more subtile forms of sophisms and illaqueations with their redargutions, which is that which is termed *elenches*. For although in the more gross sort of fallacies it happeneth (as Seneca maketh the comparison well) as in juggling feats, which, though we know not how they are done, yet we know well it is not as it seemeth to be; yet the more subtile sort of them doth not only put a man besides his answer, but doth many times abuse his judgement. This part concerning *elenches* is excellently handled by Aristotle in precept, but more excellently by Plato in example; not only in the persons of the Sophists, but even in Socrates himself, who, professing to affirm nothing, but to infirm that which was affirmed by another, hath exactly expressed all the forms of objection, fallace, and redargution,' &c.

19. *what hath bin err'd*. A classicism. Cp. *Quintilian*, vi. 5. 7: 'Si nihil esset erratum,' &c.

20. *in highest authority*; i.e. for those in highest authority.

a plain advertisement = a mere calling of your attention to the facts of the case, a simple notification, &c.

21. *is a virtue*, &c. He concludes, as he began, with a lofty panegyric of the Parliament that had done for us such splendid service.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

to ll. 4-9, p. 41.

I THINK I can now throw a little fresh light on this obscure passage, and sufficiently explain it, though further illustrations will be heartily welcome, if any are forthcoming.

Milton means to say that sermons are just as much articles of commerce as anything else, and to be bought as easily and commonly as such commodities as clothes or lace or boots. To paraphrase more closely: not in the Mercery, or in the precincts of St. Martin le Grand, or in shoemakers' shops, are there more ready-made wares of all sorts for sale than there are sermons in certain quarters 'ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult'; so that the 'parochial minister' or parish priest, who is too ignorant or indolent to compose his own discourses, need never fear any lack of 'pulpit provision,' having so well stocked a market close at hand.

5. *Our London trading St. Thomas* then refers to the Mercery in Cheap side, the place where the mercers had their shops, which was close by the Mercers' Hall and Chapel. But this chapel was, in fact, the church of the

ancient college or hospital of St. Thomas of Acon or Acres, which was founded in his honour by a sister of Thomas à Becket (to use a familiar though inaccurate cognomen) on the site of the house in which he was born. After the mercers bought the premises from King Henry VIII, at the dissolution of the monasteries, the said building was reopened for divine service in accordance with the Reformed ritual, and, as Stow tells us, 'was called Mercers' Chapel.' But, probably enough, the old name would still survive in popular usage; that is, it would still be known as St. Thomas'. At all events, the old name would be familiar to Milton, and it would be after his manner to employ it. Originally, in the Middle Ages, by 'mercery' were meant 'small wares,' or 'mixed wares' 'in contradistinction to the larger articles of commerce or the goods of specific branches in manufacture.' But gradually the mercers of Cheap extended their dealings, became vendors of silks and velvets (temp. Henry VI), and formed a mixed body of merchants and shopkeepers, leaving the small wares or mercery proper to the haberdashers, who 'kept market in adjoining Stalls and Standings' (see Herbert's Twelve Great Companies, and Wheatley's Cunningham's London Past and Present). On the use of the word *vestry*, see the note on p. 131.

6. *Adde to boot St. Martin.* The precincts of St. Martin le Grand, which was a collegiate church and sanctuary, became 'a kind of Alsatia' at the dissolution of monasteries, its privileges of sanctuary not being suppressed, and also a favourite residence of manufacturers of counterfeit ware, of latten and copper articles, of beads, and of lace, 'a sort of copper lace called St. Martin's lace.' Cunningham gives some excellent quotations to illustrate this local traffic from Westward Ho!, The City Madam, Hudibras, Mrs. Behn's Lucky Chance; and more might be gathered from the Elizabethan dramatists; e.g. in Northward Hoe, 'Old Jack Hornet,' says Doll, 'shall take upon him to be my father.' 'Excellent!' cries Leverpoole, 'with a chain about his neck, and so forth.' 'For that,' replies Doll, 'Saint Martin's and we will talk.' And further on in the play we have the said Hornet exclaiming: 'Sfoot, nothing moves my choler, but that my chain is copper. But 'tis no matter; better men than old Jack Hornet have rode up Holborn with as bad a thing about their necks as this. Your right whiffler indeed hangs himself [i.e. provides himself with a chain to hang on his neck] in Saint Martin's [where the cheap 'Sham' things were sold] and not in Cheapside' (where, at the western end on the southern side, the best goldsmiths carried on business).

7. *St. Hugh* remains to be considered; and what I have to remark is, that a St. Hugh was in some way associated with shoemakers; that he in some way was their patron along with the well-known Saints Crispin and Crispian. Evidence of this fact is furnished by Dekker in his Shoemakers' Holiday, or the Gentle Craft, with the humorous life of Simon Eyre, Shoemaker and Lord Mayor of London. Thus, when Eyre introduces his fellow-craftsmen to the king, and his Majesty asks, 'My mad Lord Mayor, are all these Shoemakers?' 'my mad Lord Mayor' makes answer: 'All Shoe-

makers, my liege, all gentlemen of the Gentle Craft, true Trojans, courageous Cordwainers. They all kneel to the shrine of holy Saint Hugh.' Elsewhere in this play 'Saint Hugh's bones' are mentioned as part of a cobbler's furniture—as being amongst the implements of his trade. 'Hark you, Shoemaker,' says Firke to Lacy, who wants a job, 'have you all your tools: a good dressing-pin, a good stopper, a good dresser, your four sorts of awls, and your two balls of wax, your paring knife, your hand- and thumb-leathers, and good *Saint Hugh's bones* to smooth up your work?' In Hone's Every Day Book, vol. i, p. 698, the chapter on St. Crispin and St. Crispian has for its motto a quotation from 'St. Hugh's Song,' viz.—

‘Our shoes were sow'd with merry notes,
And our mirth expell'd all moan;
Like nightingales, from whose sweet throats
Most pleasant tunes are nightly blown.
The Gentle Craft is fittest then
For poor distressed gentlemen.’

What could be the origin of this phrase? The only mention of a shoemaker in connexion with one of the *three* famous saints of the name that I have noticed occurs in the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolnensis*. The great Carthusian died in London, at his house on the site of the Old Temple in what is now Chancery Lane, 'secus Londinias apud vetus Templum'; but his body was carried down to Lincoln to be buried, to that 'templum gloriosissimum' of which he had himself begun the re-building; and in the towns through which it passed, it was received with the utmost reverence and devotion. At one of these, at Stamford, a certain cobbler distinguished himself by the ardour of his worship. He is described as 'vir innocentis vitae bonisque per omnia studiis deditus, arte sutoria sibi suaeque familiolae victum quaeritans.' When he saw some way off the bier of that most precious clay ('glebae preciosissimae'), and could not get near it, so dense was the crowd, he was heard praying aloud that Heaven would permit him to kiss the fringe of the pall or place his most unworthy head under those sacred remains, and then let him die ('et sic de hujus mundi colluvione animam meam tolle'). And at last his fervent wish was granted, and he thanked God for having so pitied him, and prayed again that that night he might share the eternal rest enjoyed by the soul whose now deserted body he had been privileged to approach. His prayer was answered. That selfsame night he passed away in peace ('In extremis positus, praemissa confessione percepta absolutione testamentoque legitime confecto, mox ut percepit, spiritum in pace emisit'). This story must have been well known in the Middle Ages, and may have tended to associate St. Hugh with the shoemaking trade. But it is possible already in some way Bishop Hugh was associated with cordwainers, and that the passionate zeal of the Stamford cobbler was inflamed by a knowledge of this association, and that he regarded him as a recognized friend and patron of his craft, in whose company he would fain travel straight into Paradise.

Most probably, however, if not quite certainly, the St. Hugh referred to is *not* one of the three well-known saints of the name, but yet another—a Welshman by birth, of comparatively little fame. His story is told in Campian's Pleasant and Entertaining History of St. Hugh with a particular account of his constant love to the handsome virgin Winifred, 2nd ed. 1876, to which I have heartily to thank Dr. Sharpe of the Town Clerk's office, Guildhall, London, for having called my attention. This St. Hugh, we are informed, was the son of a King of Powys, and fondly loved Winifred the daughter of Donwallo, King of Tegina, Flintshire. His suit rejected, he travelled abroad, and returning, for reasons best known to himself took up with a shoemaker at Harwich. Then broke out the Diocletian persecution, and amongst its victims were both the disguised cobbler and the lady of his affection. Just before his death, he bequeathed his bones to the craft to which he had apprenticed himself, having nothing else to bequeath them. And the legacy was turned to good account by his fellow-craftsmen:

‘My friends, I pray you listen to me
And mark what St. Hugh's bones shall be:
First a drawer, and a dresser,
Two wedges, a more and a lesser,
A pretty block three inches high,
In fashion squared like a die,’ &c.

7. One point remains unexplained, viz. Milton's speaking of ‘the hallowed limits’ of St. Hugh. As we have stated (see p. 131), there was never a church in London dedicated to any St. Hugh. The original region or neighbourhood of the shoemakers was the Cordwainers' Ward (see Stow's Survey); and it may be presumed that this is the part of London in Milton's mind. But to speak of it as ‘the hallowed limits’ of St. Hugh seems a carelessness of expression arising from a wish to make the allusion to the shoemakers uniform with those to the clothiers and the trinket-sellers.

PS.—H. H., to whom this volume and I are indebted for many invaluable services, has kindly called my attention to a most pertinent passage in a poem relating to the arrival of King George I, quoted in part by Hogg, in the first volume of his Jacobite Relics of Scotland :

‘Next to the knight there rode a true-
Blue cobbling Protestant, St. Hugh,
So called because that saint is made
The leathern patron of his trade,
Whose wooden bones he worships more
Than God, his church, or sovereign power
Or any thing, except his glorious
Triumphant idol so victorious,
Ador'd by all the gentle craft
That work in garret up aloft,
As well as cobbling sots that breathe
His praises out in stalls beneath.’

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